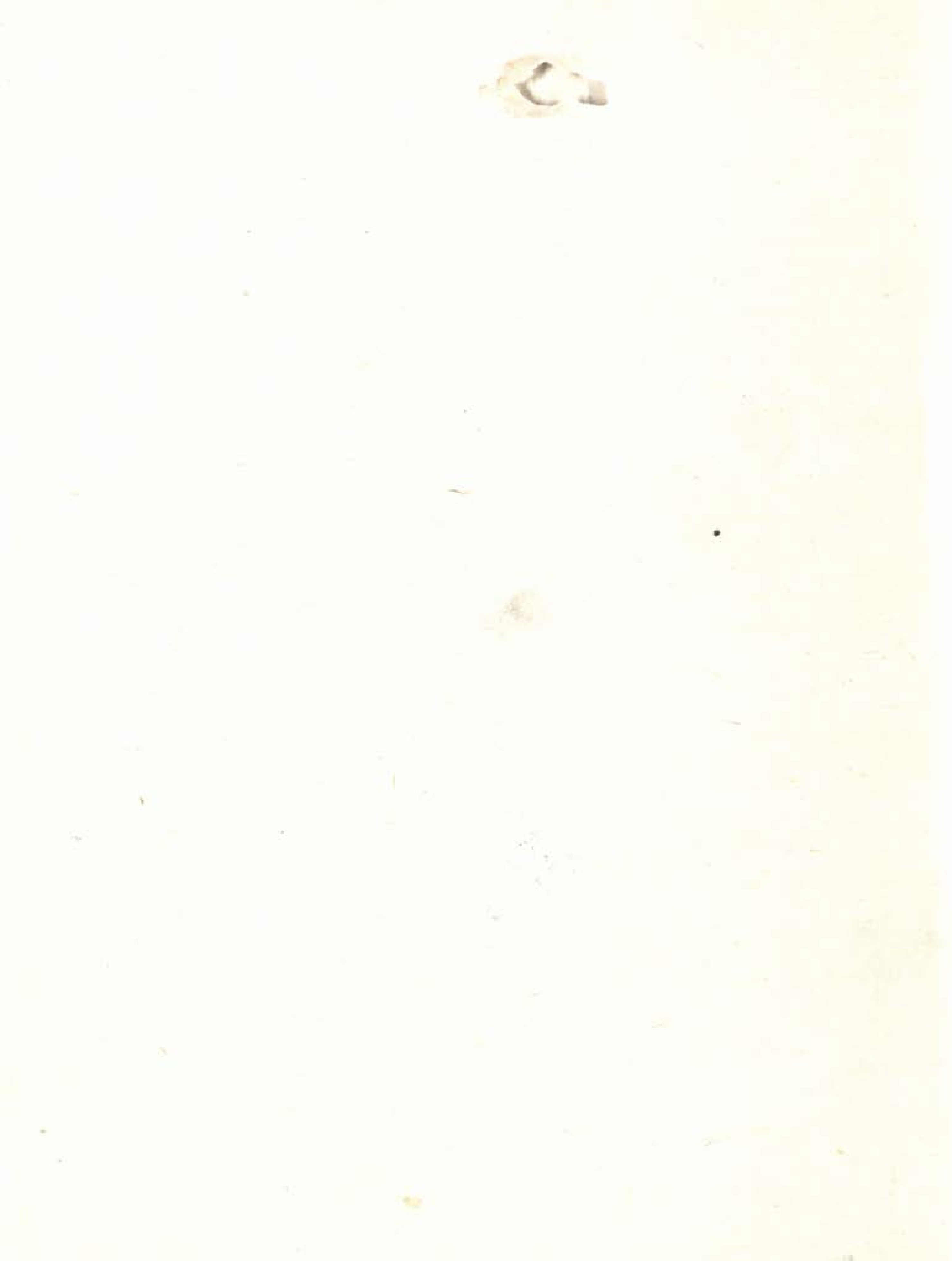




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EXCAVATIONS AT PAHARPUR, BENGAL

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LIST OF PLATES.



EXCAVATIONS AT PAHARPUR BENGAL.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory and Historical.

PAHARPUR (25° 2′ N. Lat., 89° 3′ E. Long.) is a village three miles to the west of the Jamalganj Railway Station on the main line of the E. B. Railway running from Calcutta, to Darjeeling. It lies in the midst of the flat alluvial plain of Northern Bengal, which has hardly any natural line of drainage except the sluggish rivers that normally drain out the surplus water to the Ganges and the Brahmaputra but fail miserably when faced with an abnormal monsoon. In contrast to the monotonous level of the plain, stands out the eminence locally called the Pahar or hill, from which the name Paharpur is derived. The name is not to be confused with other similar places elsewhere in Bengal or with another homophonic place near Gaya in Bihar which has a Railway Station. If other places have been named owing to their situation among the hills, the present name is entirely due to the presence of the ruins of the lofty ancient temple, which must have dominated the landscape ever since the original temple fell into disrepair.

The first notice of Paharpur is contained in the Journal of Buchanan Hamilton, who at the instance of the East India Company surveyed Eastern India between the years 1807-1812. The Paharpur mound struck Buchanan Hamilton as the most remarkable ruin in the Dinajpur Division. He found an immense steep heap of bricks "from 100 to 150 ft. in perpendicular height, covered with bushes, and crowned by a remarkable fine tree."[1] The tree (a Banyan tree) or its descendent was still there before the final clearance of the top of the mound. It was next visited by Westmacott, whose description does not materially differ from Buchanan's.[2] Sir Alexander Cunningham visited Paharpur in the season of 1879 A.D. and has recorded his observations in his report.[3] General Cunningham's estimate of the height of the mound is not more than 80 ft. above the country and only 70 ft. above the level of its own courtyard, which is quite accurate. He also corrected the mistakes in Buchanan's

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[1] Martin's *Eastern India*, para. 2, page 669.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, page 189.

[3] *A Tour in Bihar and Bengal*, Vol. XV, page 117.

account where Gwalbhitar Pahar had appeared as Gopal Chitar Pahar. The name, Gwalbhita, which appears to be much earlier than Paharpur, can possibly be connected with the earliest documents found in Paharpur as will be seen hereafter. It is also worthy of note that between Gwalbhita and Paharpur is situated the village of Dharmapurī which may preserve an echo of the name of the founder of the great Vihāra.

The story of the exploration of ruins at Paharpur may now be narrated. General Cunningham intended to make some extensive excavation in the mound and actually brought some skilled labourers with that purpose. But he was prevented from carrying out his intentions by the Raja of Balihar, zemindar and owner of the land. The General had to rest satisfied with the partial clearance of impenetrable jungle which he found both on the surrounding embankments of the central mound and the low grounds inside the enclosure. He also carried a few superficial excavations on the top of the central mound. Here he found what he thought to be a square tower of 22 ft. side with a projection in the middle of each side.

Buchanan Hamilton rightly concluded that the central mound represented a solid temple and for the architectural affinities he refers to the Buddhist temples of Burma and Nepal, 'for', he says, 'the hollow temple of which the roof had fallen in would be much flatter'. General Cunningham, on the other hand, concluded that the mound was the ruin of a large Brahmanical temple, apparently on no more substantial grounds than the find of a terracotta plaque which he wrongly believed to represent the goddess Kālī. As we now know, however, the wide range of subjects represented in the plaques at Paharpur covers all conceivable subjects of human interest. Buchanan Hamilton's happy conjecture that the ruins belonged to the Pāla dynasty has eventually been confirmed by the exploration.

The Paharpur mound and its enclosure came into the hands of the Archæological Department after it was declared to be protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in 1919. After the formation of the Eastern Circle in 1920, I paid a visit to the monument early in 1921[1] and arranged to demarcate it by means of masonry pillars.

The first preliminary attempt at the excavation of this site was made in February and March, 1923, when Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatia, Founder and President of the Varendra Research Society in Rajshahi, offered to co-operate with the Archæological Survey Department in the work of excavation by making a grant for the work at Paharpur. A party from the Calcutta University and Varendra Research Society encamped near the site and carried out the work for a month under the direction of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, formerly Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle. A few rooms at the south-west corner of the monastery enclosure (Rooms 106 to 114), together with the adjoining part of the courtyard, were excavated during this visit. The work was next resumed in 1925-26

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[1] *A. R. E. C.* for 1920-21, page 35.

by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee who for the first time attacked the northern part of the stupendous heap in the centre of the enclosure. The main staircase and basement with terracotta plaques on the North, and the northern pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* (Plate VIII*a*) with the circumambulating passage in front were cleared by Mr. Banerjee and the general outline of the plan and scheme of decoration of the building were thus revealed for the first time. From the next season (1926-27) onwards, work at Paharpur has been carried out every season under the writer's instructions, with the exception of the seasons of 1930-31 and 1931-32 when Mr. G. C. Chandra, who was then Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, carried out the excavation of the cells on the south-east side of the monastery and the adjoining courtyard. In the seasons of 1932-33 and 1933-34 the Satyapir Bhiṭā mound, which lies at a distance of 300 yards to the east of the main temple, was excavated.

Situation.—The situation of Paharpur at a distance of about 29 miles to the north-west of Mahasthan (ancient Puṇḍravardhana), the capital of this part of the country and over 30 miles to the south-east of Bangarh, the ancient Koṭivarsha, the secondary capital of North Bengal, does not afford any special attraction to the founder of a monastic establishment, unless the idea was to develop a special centre of Buddhist culture like Nālandā, far away from the bustle of the town, so that the monks could enjoy an atmosphere of quiet seclusion and contentment. If any suggestion may be offered as to the selection of the place, it is perhaps that it marked a stage in the Buddha's reputed journey from Jetavana to Puṇḍravardhana, where Aśoka may have erected a *stūpa*, but no such remains have survived to this day. The existence of such a large settlement of monks quite independent of the urban population indicates that the royal founders must have provided ample donations for the subsistence of the fraternity.

The monastic establishment of the settlement of Somapura (modern Paharpur) in its present form is undoubtedly to be attributed to the early Pāla Emperors who, as pious Buddhists, must have been anxious to establish a magnificent and lofty monument in the heart of their own native land of Varendra. The Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang in his account of his visit to the Puṇḍravardhana country states that he found that the largest number of monks here belonged to the Jaina Nirgrantha persuasion, while he noticed about 100 Brahmanical temples and only 20 Buddhist monasteries. Some of these Buddhist monasteries can perhaps be identified with the remains at Bihar and Bhasubihar, which are situated within 4 to 6 miles from the city of Mahasthana. There is, however, no trace in the itinerary of the pilgrim of any site corresponding to the lofty temple and monastery at Paharpur, which could hardly have been missed by him. It can therefore be safely concluded that there was no Buddhist establishment at this site in the 7th century A.D. On the other hand, the memory of the grand Vihāra established by the early Pāla kings at Somapura lingered in Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition up to the 17th century, as the author of *Pag Sam Jon Zang* distinctly refers to the 'lofty *vihāra* built by Devapāla (really by his father Dharmapāla) at Somapurī (Somapura)'. The donations of monks hailing from Somapura in

other well-known centres of Buddhism, such as Nālandā[1] and Bodh Gayā[2] also point to the flourishing condition of the Vihāra in the 10th and 11th centuries. It is thus evident that in spite of the find at Paharpur of sculptural and epigraphical remains of a period earlier than that of the Pālas, the main fabric of the Paharpur temple and monastery has to be attributed to the time of the early Pāla emperors in the latter part of the 8th century A.D. As Eastern India was the last stronghold of Buddhism in India, it was but natural that the great monastery at Paharpur continued to flourish almost up to the Muhammadan conquest.

History.—In connection with the history of the rise, development and destruction of this great Vihāra it would not be out of place to give a sketch of the history of this part of the country. So far as is known at present, North Bengal formed part of the empire of the Mauryas in the third century B.C. The recently discovered inscription[3] at Mahasthan proves conclusively that a provincial governor had his seat at Mahasthan then known as Puṇḍranagara. The stray finds of Śunga terracottas[4] at Mahasthan and certain places in Murshidabad district and the Kushāṇa[5] coins found also at Mahasthan give us just a peep at the period intervening between the Maurya and Gupta empires. More material is available for the reconstruction of the history of Bengal during the Gupta period. A number of records from the middle of the 5th century to the latter part of the 6th century indicate that the Guptas had established their supremacy over North Bengal and had a provincial governor again at Puṇḍravardhana. Most of the records relate to the grant of fallow, cultivable as well as homestead land at a certain rate for charitable purposes including provision for temples, the maintenance of Brahmans, and in the case of the record discovered at Paharpur[6], for the maintenance of worship at a Jaina temple. The religious atmosphere at this period was apparently one of perfect tolerance, although it is clear that the Brahmanical and the Jaina faiths were more prevalent among the inhabitants of North Bengal than the religion of the Buddha. Puṇḍravardhana is stated to have been one of the seats of Jaina pontiffs and there must have been a Jaina Vihāra of some repute near the present site of Paharpur. Hieun Tsang's account of his journey in this part of the country in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. corroborates the view that the Jaina and Brahmanical religions were more prosperous than Buddhism.

After the weakening of the central Gupta power in the 6th century some scions of the dynasty such as Vainyagupta continued to rule in Bengal. Some provincial governors, who were most probably connected with the Gupta royal family, assumed independence and a number of local rulers in South Bengal, *e.g.*, Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāra are known from their copper plates, coins and seals. It is noteworthy that coins of the Gupta type were imitated longer

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, page 97.
[2] *A. S. R.* 1908-09, page 158.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 83.
[4] Cf. *A. S. R.* 1928-29, p. 96 and pl. XLIII*b*.
[5] *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. XXVIII, p. 127 ff.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 59.

in the province of Bengal than in the central parts of the country. In the beginning of the 7th century, West and possibly also North Bengal was in the hands of King Śaśāṅka, a strong adherent of the Śaiva faith, whose antagonism to Buddhism has been perhaps exaggerated in the accounts of the Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang. It is at this period that Bengal was trying to assert its individuality in the sphere of art and the first attempt at the formation of a school of sculpture (as at Paharpur), must be traced to the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century A.D. This effort, however, appears to have proved somewhat abortive, owing probably to the unsettled political condition of Bengal from the middle of the 7th to the third quarter of the 8th century and no vigorous attempts were made to continue any sustained activity in the domain of sculpture. Torn between internal dissensions and the rivalries of local rulers, the rich province of Bengal formed the happy hunting ground of ambitious rulers from far and near and there are records of the country being overrun by the forces of the kings of Kāmarūpa (in Assam), Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Mahā-Kośala (Eastern C. P.), and even distant Kashmir. These successive invasions must have had the effect of thwarting the development in the sphere of art that had been fostered by centuries of peaceful and enlightened rule under the Guptas. At this juncture a definite attempt seems to have been made by the people of Bengal to put an end to the state of anarchy by selecting Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, as their ruler. This dynasty was successful in obtaining a foothold in Bengal for over three and half centuries and it is due to them that Bengal was once again able to enjoy peace and develop its arts.

With the advent of the Pālas who professed the Buddhist religion, Buddhism was in the ascendent in Bengal and Bihar, although the determined antagoinsm of the later Buddhists to Brahmanism does not manifest itself in the establishments at Nālandā and Paharpur which flourished during the times of the Pālas. The second and third kings of the dynasty, Dharmapāla and Devapāla, built up at the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th centuries A.D. a large empire which embraced Bihar and at times the Gangetic valley up to Kanauj, where a nominee of Dharmapāla was for some time set up. It was during this period that many new Buddhist temples and *vihāras* must have been established in Bengal under royal patronage. Besides the *Vihāra* at Somapura (Paharpur), there are references in Buddhist literature to the *vihāras* at Agrapur (possibly identical with Agradigun near Balurghat), Ushmapura, Gotapura, Gopura, Etapura and Jāgaddala (possibly identical with Jagaddal in Dinajpur District). The biggest and most important of these must have been the establishment at Paharpur which received royal patronage from the kings of the early Pāla empire.

In the last quarter of the 9th century the Pāla empire received a great setback at the hands of the Gurjara emperors Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla. A glimpse of the Gurjara invasion is afforded by the inscription of the 5th year of Mahendrapāla found on a pillar at Paharpur. Prosperity seems to have returned at the end of the 10th century when Mahīpāla I founded the second Pāla empire. According to the *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, Mahīpāla, who was a devoted Buddhist, served thousands of Buddhists at Udantapurī (Bihar) and offered

worship in Nālandā and Somapura. A monk from Somapura Vihāra named Vīryendrabhadra visited at this period the well-known shrine of Bodhgayā and made certain donations. About the end of the 10th century or beginning of the 11th century, the prosperity of the establishment was reflected in a wholesale renovation in the Main Temple and in the monastic cells where a number of ornamental pedestals seem to have been installed and at the shrine of Tārā in the Satyapir Bhiṭā numerous votive *stūpas* were constructed. After Mahīpāla and his son Nayapāla, the fortunes of the Pāla dynasty again suffered a reverse and Bengal was overrun in turn by the Chedi king Karṇa (Central India), the Chola king Rājendra and a local Kaivarta chief named Divya. At Paharpur itself, the incendiarism of the invading armies from Vangāla or East Bengal referred to in the Nālandā inscription must have occurred at this period. Thereafter Rāmapāla retrieved the fortunes of his dynasty and once again established a stable Pāla kingdom in the last quarter of the 11th century. In the 12th century the sovereignty of Bengal passed over to the Senas, a dynasty of southern extraction. At this period the establishment at Paharpur seems to have suffered decline and the renewal and reconstruction to be attributed to this period are of the nature of make-shift arrangements.

In the beginning of the 13th century came the onslaught of the Muhammadans who before long overran the whole of North Bengal and it is not improbable that the Paharpur temple with its conspicuous height must have been one of the first places to attract the attention and stimulate the iconoclastic zeal of the invaders. Thereafter the temple and monastery seem to have fallen into desolation. The finds of coins of the Sultans and last independent rulers of Bengal made in the course of the excavation of the monastery only serve to emphasise the secluded position of the ruins, where in times of turmoil, money could be safely hidden. A late temple to the south-east of the Paharpur monastery beyond the enclosure (Plate XXIIc), in which lime mortar has been used and a few bricks with lotus rosette decorations found on the surface, are all the traces of occupation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. found among the ruins of the grand monastery, resorted to by casual visitors and temporary sojourners. The overgrowth of jungle must have made access to the ruins progressively more difficult during the period of the Mughal empire and early British rule. Cunningham refers to the fact that the central mound was the haunt of wild animals, particularly leopards. Meanwhile, stray exploitation of the ruins for bricks by the neighbouring villagers continued until the area was brought within the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

CHAPTER II.

The Main Temple.

The type of plan on which the main temple at Paharpur was erected is so far unknown to Indian archæology nor is its further development on Indian soil traceable. Its cruciform shape with angles of projection between the arms (Plate I), its 3 raised terraces and complicated scheme of decoration of walls with carved brick cornices, friezes of terracotta plaques and stone reliefs (Plate II) are not found in any of the developed styles of temple architecture in India; nor can it be supposed to have evolved from the ancient Buddhist Stūpa as its symmetrical arms constitute an entirely novel development. The only suggestion that can be offered is that there may have been a four-faced (*Chaturmukha*) temple of the Jainas on the spot or in the immediate vicinity as appears probable from the fact that an ancient copper-plate attributed to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. discovered on the site records the donation of certain lands for the maintenance of worship[1] of the Jinas or Arhats at the Vihāra of Guhanandin. If such a *vihāra* or temple ever existed on the spot, it is likely that it furnished the barest outline of the present structure. But the erection of the lofty terraced edifice with the shrine crowning the top of three terraces and halls and antechambers on the second and circumambulating passage on each floor, appears to have been entirely original in an Indian monument. There can be no doubt that this style of architecture has most profoundly influenced that of Burma, Java and Cambodia. The nearest approximation to the plan and the superstructure of the Paharpur temple is afforded by the temples known as Chandi Loro Jongrang and Chandi Sevu of Prambanam in Central Java. The general view of the former with its angular projections, truncated pyramid shape and horizontal lines of wall decoration reproduces some of the prominent characteristics of Paharpur. The inner plan of the Chandi Sevu shrine strikingly resembles that of the central shrine and the second terrace at Paharpur, while the disposition of the outer temples of the Java example resembles that of the monastery at Paharpur. The close connection between Eastern India and the Archipelago in the early Pāla period which has already been evident in the Nālandā[2] copper-plate grant must be responsible for the development of this type of architecture in Java, where it has found far more suitable soil for its growth than in the country of its origin.

Although not found in any of the other styles of architecture that were developed in India the plan of the Paharpur temple is one of the simplest to conceive of (Plate I). Unlike the great Buddhist temple at Nālandā which consisted of a solid nucleus of a temple which was capable of receiving and actually received accretions in every succeeding age, the plan of the Paharpur temple was the result of a premeditated development of a single central unit, in which

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, page 57.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, page 310 ff.

future expansion was, in a sense, predetermined in a vertical direction, that is in the setting up of new floors, etc., but not laterally. Retracing all the steps through which the construction of this seemingly complicated structure went, we may commence with the floor that stands in the centre of the high foundation walls of the central shrine, roughly at the level of the surrounding antechambers and *Maṇḍapa*. It is 6′ 6″ × 6′ 2″ being almost half the inner dimensions of the floor of the central shrine at the top, which measures 13′ 6″ × 13′ 3″; but the walls separating the floor of the central chamber at the top are as much as 18′ 10½″ in thickness up to the verandah of the third terrace which is 11 ft. in breadth and runs round the central chamber. The outer wall of this verandah which faces the antechambers on each side is thus a complete square of 72′-9″ a side. To each side of this central block was attached a projection consisting of the antechamber 19′ 6″ in length and a *maṇḍapa* 30 ft. in length, the width from wall to wall being 39′ 6″. There remained at each of the four corners a length of 16′ 7½″ on each side of the central square and the passage of circumambulation, which ran parallel to the structure at a distance of 9 ft., was thus cruciform in plan, with but one angular projection between each arm of the cross. It was further decided that there should be one more projection in the ground plan and first floor and with this end in view at the further end of the verandaḥ, in each of the cardinal points of projection, and exactly in front of the walls of the *Maṇḍapa* projecting walls measuring 36 ft. in length were constructed. This again left space on each of the projecting angles of the arms of the cross in addition to the angles of the central square. The resultant projecting angles in the plan of the first floor and the ground floor were thus three between each arm of the cross to which an additional projection was added in the ground plan owing to the stairway landing which stood exactly in the middle of the northern arm. An enclosure wall 3′ 6″ in width was at the same time erected at a distance of 17′ 6″ from the walls of the basement, which also runs exactly parallel to the ground and first floor walls, except that it begins to deviate from the third angle on the north side, and broaden in front to enclose a court with a *stūpa* in the centre. The idea of applying these projecting planes on each face must have arisen from a desire to add to the diversity of the structure and relieve the monotony of a simple square plan. But no further experiments in this direction were carried on in any structural plan in India. One reason for this must have been the isolation of this monument in the heart of North Bengal, away from the main centres of Brahmanical and Jaina worship in the medieval period in the far-off west and south-west of India. Even in the nearer centres of Brahmanical architecture in Orissa and Central India the influence of the new terraced type of brick temple was not felt as the material and traditions on which the architects worked were entirely different.[1] It, however, appears to have been followed in the neighbouring Buddhist province of Burma, where during the period of development of Burmese architecture after the 11th century A.D. the principle of a square plan with a series of projecting planes one in front of the other has been carried forward sometimes to an excess.

[1] *Vide* Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, page 342.

The decorations of walls with square terracotta panels or plaques so common in the pagodas of Burma may also be traced to the influence of the Paharpur type of architecture.

At first sight, the mound before excavation appeared to be gradually sloping away on all sides, except that on the west there was a somewhat abrupt drop (Plate III*a*), which subsequent excavation has proved to be due to the greater height of the walls of the sanctum on that side. The longer arms on the northern side and the greater height of the mound in the centre of the northern side of the enclosing quadrangle, however, persuaded Mr. Banerjee to commence excavations at these two points in December 1925. At the central mound the work was commenced by sinking a 'V' shaped trench along the sides of the northern arm of the Main Mound (Plate III*b*). The general configuration of the mound showing that the northern arm was somewhat longer and more gently sloped than others made it obvious that the approach to the temple must have been from the north. The first few days' work revealed the existence of the staircase which we know was the sole means of access to the upper terrace (Plate III*b*). On either flank the alignment of the main basement wall with its angular projection showing rows of plaques in the bottom was uncovered. Once the plan in the north-east and north-west angles was exposed, it was only a matter of following it on other sides and completing the entire ground plan. A general view of the monument, as it was exposed by the end of the first season's work, strikingly illustrates how the details of the original plan with rising terraces slowly emerged from the jungle which had enveloped it (Plate V*a*). The present appearance of the temple (Plates IV and V*b* and *d*) is due to the persistent and continuous campaign of conservation—which has been in progress for a decade and is likely to continue for years to come.

The elevation of the basement wall was substantially the same as it originally stood with its rich and diversified design. It commences at the bottom with a plain surface of ashlar brickwork with a number of offsets in foundation which is still in excellent condition owing to the fact that it was buried in the accumulating silt in the later stages of existence of the monument (Plate XI*d*). The monotony of the plain surface here was broken by the insertion of stone bas-reliefs at most of the angles of the projection (Plate XXVI*c*, *d* and *e*) and at intervals in specially built recesses in the middle of the wall (*cf.* Plate XII*b* and *d*). Such recesses are more common on the south-east and south-west sides and their absence in the north-east and north-west sectors is probably attributable to the consideration that direct sun-light was not obtained in the walls facing north. It may also be that the number of stone reliefs available was limited. Above the reliefs there is a projecting cornice with a course of half-round moulding and two plain mouldings, above which is found a recess in which terracotta plaques about 13"-14" in height were fixed in rows. The present ground level almost coincides with the bottom of this row of plaques which runs almost uninterruptedly throughout the length of the wall. For a considerable part of the year, approximately from June to December, the course remains under subsoil water and although the plaques just manage to keep their heads above water during the

rains, their surface is nevertheless affected by the action of saltpetre and the growth of moss and vegetation, particularly on the north facing walls. Above the plaques is a rather deep cornice moulding of 9 courses before the plain ashlar wall is resumed. The lowest course is generally moulded with transverse straight and wavy line, the second consists of inverted stepped pyramids, the next course above is generally the lotus leaf pattern; above this there are two ashlar courses in the moulding before the cornice recedes back to the main wall surface. In this portion the courses show respectively a half round, a chamfered, and a plain rectangular pattern. The upper courses of the cornice moulding do not contain any ornamental design as the lower ones adjoining the plaques. After a stretch of 3′ 6″ the plain ashlar wall is again relieved by another deep cornice moulding, in which the stepped pyramid, lotus leaf, and chess-board or chain designs appear in the courses below the plain ashlar moulding in the centre, while the upper tiers include a chamfered and a half-round course. Above this stood another recess for the insertion of terracotta plaques which may have another cornice moulding above, before the wall terminated. But the wall in these upper courses being adjacent to the circumambulating verandah on the first terrace to which it served as a retaining wall and also as a parapet, was brought down by the impact of *débris* from the higher terraces when catastrophe overtook the monument. The plaques of the upper frieze have been preserved *in situ* only at some of the corners of the angles (Plate VI*c*). In other places they must have fallen down together with the large portion of the cornice mouldings below. The plaques of the upper row seem to have been replaced even when the monument was standing as is apparent from the fact that they have sometimes been placed sidewise in course of repairs or replaced by plain bricks (Plate VI*b*). The bottom of the basement wall below the level of the stone reliefs consists of solidly laid courses of bricks with at least 14 regular offsets in foundation (Plate X*b*). The bricks used in the lower part of the basement and foundation appear to be particularly well-burnt and the joints are fine and square as the edges of the bricks appear to have been rubbed smooth before they were set.

The visitor to the Dharmapāla-mahā-vihāra must have approached the temple from the north, through the grand gateway of the monastery and the spacious paved courtyard on the northern side, flanked by screened party walls. He probably first circumambulated the temple, keeping the temple always to the right (*pradakshiṇa*) and noticing on the way the terracotta plaques fixed in rows in the walls and making his obeisance to the various deities, whose images were enshrined in the niches at intervals. Then he must have approached the main stairway to the north (Plate V*c*), which is a grand flight of brick-built stairs flanked by sloping parapet walls on either sides. Standing exactly in the middle of the north side, this stairway forms an additional projection on the north and thus constitutes a deviation from the otherwise symmetrical plan. Mr. Banerjee who uncovered the staircase thought that the steps had originally been edged with stone which were removed in comparatively recent times, but there is no evidence for this statement. The lowest step is certainly made of blocks of

grey sandstone partially worn out by treading, but it is improbable that the other steps had any stone facing.

In front of the main staircase there appears to have been a courtyard with a square votive *stūpa* in the middle (Plate XIV*a*). Two square brick-built *stūpas* now seen immediately to the north of the staircase on either side of the passage are evidently of a later date, as their lowest courses are laid on the top of the enclosure wall. The latter which runs parallel to the walls of the monument on all other sides is slightly differently oriented in the angles flanking the staircase, where it proceeds straight on either side to a longer distance before turning inwards to form the north wall of the enclosure. There must undoubtedly have been a regular entrance through this wall, but no clear traces of this as well as of the actual passage between the temple enclosure and the North Gateway of the monastery, which was the principal means of approach to the monument, have been found. The intervening low area is now occupied by a recently excavated pond, but it is uncertain whether it had a pool at the time of the original lay-out (Plate XIV*a*). As the original natural drainage within the temple enclosure was towards the north, and as no outlet for the drainage of water from the entire monastic quadrangle has been traced, it is possible that this low area surrounded on all sides by buildings was originally laid out as a tank to receive all the water within the grand enclosure.

The verandah or circumambulatory passage on the first terrace to which access is given by the main staircase, on the north side, runs continuously on all sides. Its walls were also repaired several times as is apparent from the fact that the plaques in the upper rows were much disturbed. There were 2 rows of plaques decorating the inner wall of the passage, one below and the other higher up being separated from each other by cornice mouldings (Plates VI*a*, VII*a* and *b*). In many cases, the paucity of plaques must have led the repairers to block out the plaque spaces by bricks or economise the space by laying the plaques sidewise, instead of vertically (Plate VI*b* and Plate VII*b*). There are masonry benches at intervals in the passage, but not so regularly as in the second terrace verandah. On the south there seems to have been considerable subsidence of the concrete floor of the passage, while the almost wholesale destruction of the basement wall on the east side involved considerable damage to the *pradakshiṇa* passage above (Plate V*d*). The plaques used in the first terrace walls are generally superior in execution. One row on the southwest side contains a remarkable collection of plaques representing Brahmanical deities (Plates XLII*a* and *d*, XLIIIc and *e*). Plaques of a distinctly smaller size but more artistic in quality than the usual type are found only in the upper rows of the first terrace walls. The general appearance of the walls on the first terrace with their rows of plaques can be judged from Plate VII where the lower picture shows the walls before conservation and the upper after the necessary measures of conservation including rebuilding the out-of-plumb portions of masonry and resetting the bulged out plaques had been carried out.

In the north-western part of this verandah and in the portion immediately to the west of the staircase projection, the circumambulatory passage was in

the later period partially blocked by the construction of a shrine. The east wall of this shrine pursued its course side by side with the inner wall of the verandah, but the northern, southern and also possibly the western sides were planned on the 'projecting plane' system so common in the shrine at Paharpur. At first the space between the southern end of the shrine and the left verandah was left open for view, as it appears that the top of the wall was embellished with rows of plaques facing south. But after a time the level of the verandah at this point was raised, a new party wall was set up between the western face of the shrine and the angle of the inner verandah wall in a line with the western wall and the usual method of adorning the wall surface with plaques, adopted. The shrine and the original verandah walls of the angle on the north-west side were thus screened off leaving a small passage which except for some upper level of the lower terrace was thus virtually blocked. The middle of the shrine is very solidly built with bricks laid along the whole length and it is likely that this represents the last attempt to build any structure on the main temple itself.

The second terrace verandah was, it appears, unobstructed in its passage throughout the period the temple was in occupation (Plate IX*a*, *b*, *c*). In this the earliest structures appear to have been the ante-chambers which were built on each cardinal point along with the central shrine and the top. The floor of the ante-chambers was made up of concrete after the height was brought up to the required level by filling *débris*, earth and a number of stones including architectural stones from other earlier structures on which the builders could lay their hands. Among the stones found in the western ante-chamber a door-jamb with standing figure of a female attendant holding a lotus deserves special notice. In the clearance of the northern ante-chamber, a bronze bell and an ornament shaped like a *chaitya* on a polygonal base and crowned by multiple umbrellas and a finial and a pair of garments suspended by the side (Plate LVIII*d*) were discovered on the floor, the latter being connected with a big masonry drain, carried beneath the floor. In all the ante-chambers drains for connecting the water from the shrine were also found, but no other objects of worship came to light in them. On all the four sides the original ante-chambers were marked off by thresholds of stone masonry (cf. Plate VIII*a* and *b*) which were heightened when pillared halls were added at a later date. The outer walls of the ante-chambers and pillared halls of *maṇḍapas* show a clear vertical cut in all the four walls although it is clear that the new walls were erected strictly in continuation of their original alignment.

The halls or *maṇḍapas* as they now stand show stone bases for the pillars on which the roof was supported. The shafts of pillars were not found except in the case of the two inscribed pillars in the northern hall. In the eastern *maṇḍapa* besides the pillar bases, the capitals of the pillars were found, although not in position. In the southern *maṇḍapa* only three bases of pillars were found (Plate VIIIc). In the western *maṇḍapa* one of the stones used for the pillar base contains a beautifully carved fragment of a pillar with vase and foliage moulding and geese holding strings of pearls on either side of a lotus plant in the upper register of the central medallion (*A. S. R.*, 1927-28, Plate XLVI*d*).

This work apparently belongs to an earlier structure standing close to the spot, which can be attributed to the 7th century A.D. and it is probable that at least some of the other stones utilised in the construction of the *maṇḍapa* belong to the same early date. As the construction of the *maṇḍapas*, however, presupposes the present circumambulating passage on the second terrace with the projection beyond and these in turn account for the ground plan with three projections on each side, there is no doubt that the construction of the *maṇḍapa* followed soon after the erection of the central shrine and four ante-chambers. The two inscribed pillars found in the northern *maṇḍapa*, one of which is dated in the reign of Mahendrapāla (circa 10th century A.D.), must therefore be considered as at least a century later than the original construction of the *maṇḍapas*.

In the southern ante-chamber against the original backwall appears a buttress wall in which two distinct stairways, one later than the other, are traceable (Plate VIII*d*). The first starting about 5 ft. from the eastern end of the wall appears to have reached the level of the narrow passage or verandah around the central chamber which is still visible at a height of 28 ft. above the floor level of the ante-chamber. Both the stairways are characterised by a narrow foothold and steep rise which clearly indicates that they were not intended for general use. The tread is only 5″ to 7″ and the rise is 10½″ to 12″. The outer walls of the circumambulating passage on the second floor are well preserved and substantial. They show in several places, as in the south-west, the stone bases of pillars and wide recesses throughout the thickness of the wall, which appear to be much later in date than the earlier level of the ante-chamber and passage. The inner wall reaches the height of 25′ 6″ at the south-west corner and the usual wavy, inverted pyramids and lotus-leaf pattern mouldings are found on the top (Plate IX*b*). It is very probable that this verandah was covered with a roof. The find of a number of stucco heads (Plate LXIII*d*) in the verandah on the south-west indicates that they were included in the scheme of decoration and it is improbable that they were left unprotected without any covering.

The structures on the second terrace illustrate clearly the different periods at which the main temple underwent reconstruction or repair. In the verandah of the first terrace the floor shows two periods of construction separated by about 2 ft. The earlier of these is connected with the earliest period in which the ante-chamber and *maṇḍapas* were constructed. This is clear from the fact that the drain which connects the earliest floor of the ante-chamber is connected with the earliest floor in the passage on the second terrace issuing through a corbelled mouth on the first terrace verandah, so that only the top corbelled courses were above the concrete floor (Plate XXI*d*). There appears to have been only one concrete floor above this early floor in the first terrace verandah, but there are clear traces of three levels of occupation in the verandah of the second terrace (Plate IX*b* and *c*). If the first period at which the ante-chamber and *maṇḍapas* were constructed be considered as the end of the 8th century, the second period associated with the next concrete floor in the circumambulating passage may be fixed as about the middle of the 9th century A.D., when the walls of the four *maṇḍapas* underwent wholesale reconstruction. This is proved

by the fact that while the earlier offsets of the ante-chamber and the *maṇḍapas* are in a continuous line, fresh offsets start at a higher level only in the walls of the *maṇḍapas*. In the beginning of the 10th century the present *maṇḍapas* or the pillared halls came into being, the date being fixed by the inscriptions on the shafts of pillars found in the northern *maṇḍapa* which refer themselves to the time of King Mahendrapāla of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj, who for a time overran Bengal and Bihar. The present level of the verandah on the second terrace which shows a particularly strong concrete floor specially on the south-east side (Plate IX*c*) is undoubtedly to be attributed to the third period, that is about the 10th century A.D. It is difficult to say whether there existed any pillars in the earlier *maṇḍapas* of the 8th and 9th centuries. But it is possible that parts of pillars and jambs found in the floor of the ante-chamber and at the bases and pedestals of the *maṇḍapas* of the 10th century belong to these earlier structures. The fourth and last period of reconstruction which is probably to be assigned to the 11th or 12th century is indicated by the concrete levels and pillar bases in the large windows in the outer verandah walls of the second terrace (Plate IX*b* and *c*) as also by the offsets occurring on the front side of the walls of the four pillared halls. These, it is quite clear, are not connected with the present concrete floor of the verandah as the outer verandah wall, connected with the window floors, is superficial in height and shows clear filling of earth above the level of the verandah floor.

For the reconstruction of the monument above the second terrace the material is rather scanty. There are clear traces of a verandah, 11′ broad, at a height of 28′ from the level of the ante-chambers to which access was provided by the stairway in the southern ante-chamber. The main place of worship or cella must have been at the top as we find in some of the Burmese Pagodas. The great height at which the main sanctuary stood must have made this monument a prominent landmark in the country around, and have spread its fame far and wide, but in the days of its decline its prominent situation must have also made the shrine the main target for the enemy and the vandal. Natural forces of destruction such as rain, earthquakes, etc., must also have played greater havoc at the top than in other parts of the building. Every part of the superstructure must have been thrown headlong immediately the building fell into disuse and with every rain there would be a tendency for the *débris* of what remained to fall further below The small chamber of brick with a door facing east and small niche to the west which was seen by Buchanan Hamilton on the summit of the mound was then represented to be the shelter of a Muhammadan hermit. Cunningham does not mention any such structure as it was probably in ruins by that time. When the *débris* at the top were cleared in 1927 it was noticed that remains of a brick floor could be distinctly made out over a small area covering the western foundation wall of the main shrine. A portion was also overhanging the *débris* filling in the interior. Whether the floor belonged to the original sanctum or was part of the brick chamber said to have been built by the Muhammadan Fakir was not clear, but the probabilities are in favour of the former supposition.

After clearing the inner face of the four walls at the top it was found that a piece of brick-masonry being apparently part of the floor had fallen in. This must have been due to the fact that whereas this floor resting on the side walls was in position, the portion standing over the interior filling had sunk along with the loose earth and *débris* inside. A space 13′ 6″×13′ 3″ was enclosed by the walls, which were themselves 18 ft. 10½ in. in thickness. The infilling, which was dug out, consisted at first of hard *débris* of brick and loose earth found in layers of dark and light colour full of ashes. At a depth of 23 ft. concrete nodules were discovered and below 25 ft. pure dark coloured clay without any admixture of brick *débris* was found in the middle alternating with columns of *débris*. Of the walls the western stood higher and was better preserved than the rests. A slight outward bulge at the top was distinctly noticeable, the dimensions of the chamber narrowing down to 12½ ft. square as compared with 13′ 6″ ×13′ 3″ at the top (Plate X*a*). Small openings like niches were discovered in the north, west and south walls, of which the western proceeds at least for 17 ft. 2 in. inside the wall masonry and the other two for a smaller distance. The purpose of these is obscure, but may be the drainage of water absorbed in the masonry by percolation. Below these are the inner mouths of the niches which are to be seen in the north, south and west in the exterior wall facing the ante-chamber (Plate X*b*). The latter are narrow passages with corbelled tops about 3 ft. in breadth and 5 ft. in height at the outer end, but gradually becoming narrower in size and partially blocked by smaller openings. The clearing of these niches was a matter of great difficulty, but with bamboo poles it was possible to negotiate at least half of the length. The purpose to which these niches could have been used appears doubtful although they may have been illuminated on festive occasions.

At a depth of 38 ft. in the interior of the chamber four square platforms, from 2′ to 3′ sq. were brought to light at the four corners and at 41 ft. depth the side walls came to an end, with 9 regular offsets descending towards a finely laid brick-floor in the centre measuring 6′ 6″×6′ 2″. Bricks as thick as 4″ have been used in the offsets, while those in the floor are 3″ thick. A view taken from the mouth of the pit looking downwards reveals how the bricks were laid diagonally in the floor (Plate X*b*). The platforms were only superficial and roughly correspond to the level of the ante-chambers and *maṇḍapas* outside. No relics or foundation deposits were discovered on the floor, the only find at this level being two pottery cups. The platforms and floor apparently only mark a stage in the construction of the high plinth on which the main shrine stood. A part of the floor was dismantled and excavation was carried 30 ft. further down through the masonry. At first eighteen carefully laid layers of burnt bricks of full size were uncovered, which were followed by several feet of regularly laid layers of brickbats. (cf. Section in Plate X*a*). An interesting feature of the lowest part of the foundation masonry was an aperture 8″ square almost in the centre which continued over 10 ft. in depth. Its rough construction, however, precludes the possibility that it was more than an accident.

The fact that the foundation of the main shrine was being laid simultaneously with the construction of the other parts of the main temple is revealed by the discovery of several ornamental bricks, terracotta plaques and plaque fragments all of the regular Paharpur type at depths of 56 ft. to 70 ft. from the top of the mound. As no difference is noticeable between bricks and plaques recovered from this depth and others used and set up in the regular basement it is evident that the entire superstructure from the foundation to the shrine at the summit was erected at about the same period. In this respect Paharpur offers a striking contrast to the great temple at Nālandā in which evidence has been found of no less than seven integuments, each successive construction enveloping the previous ones. The superstructure, method of roofing and other details regarding the main shrine at Paharpur are matters of conjecture. General Cunningham's idea that the wedge-shaped bricks found by him indicate the existence of a circular *kalaśa* or pinnacle is not borne out by the evidence of the excavation. It is possible that these wedge-shaped bricks were parts of an arch belonging to the Fakir's shelter. The extraordinary thickness (about 19′) of the foundation walls and the small span to be covered over what would roughly be the dimensions of the shrine may point to a high tower gradually tapering to a point with corbelled arches.

The drainage of the entire area of the main temple and the immediate surroundings was carefully provided in the original construction. The enclosure walls, which run parallel to the corresponding sections of the temple at a distance of 17′ 6″, are pierced at intervals by channels 1′ 6″ wide (Plate XI*b*), the total number of such outlets being 22. All these were no doubt intended to carry away rain water from inside the temple compound to the open ground outside, but in one case the outlet was carefully connected with a well-built brick drain running across the width of the passage and starting from the mouth of a stone gargoyle at the second angle on the north-east sector (Plate XI*a*). Tracing the channel to its source through the floors and walls of the first and second terraces it was found to have been connected with the floor of the northern ante-chamber (Plate XXI*d*), probably the most important sanctuary, where lustral water must have been poured in large quantities to necessitate the elaborate drainage arrangements. Similar masonry drains starting from the eastern, southern and western ante-chambers respectively were discharged in the north-eastern, south-eastern and north-western quadrants respectively. No special arrangements for carrying away the discharged water through the compound are, however, traceable, which indicates that the quantity of water must have been moderate. The discharge ends of the drains from the north and east ante-chambers both in adjacent angles of the basement walls in the north-eastern sectors are marked by stone gargoyles still more or less preserved. Mr. Banerjee finding two pieces of rock crystal in the adjacent area considered that they were originally fixed in the eyes of the *makara*-shaped gargoyles. The channels in the south-east and north-west sectors had only U-shaped stones to mark their ends. At the point where the original drain from the southern ante-chamber emerges from the wall into the first terrace verandah, terracotta plaques were found to

have been used for covering the channel. These, like other plaques found in the foundations of the central block were probably specimens rejected for use in the decoration of walls at the time of the original construction. The fact that two of the four outlets are on the north-east and none on the south-west leads to the conclusion that the natural slope of the ground on which the temple was built was from south-west to north-east.

CHAPTER III.

The Monastery.

Monastery Area.—The monastery or *Sanghārāma* at Paharpur is a complete quadrangle and measures 822′ externally on each side. It is easily the biggest single *sanghārāma* that was ever erected in India for Buddhist monks. On the exterior the monastery had walls over 12′ in height (*cf.* Plate XII*a* and *c*). In plan it consists of rows of cells facing in each direction, generally 13′ 6″ in length opening on a spacious verandah 8′ to 9′ broad. In the middle of each of the four sides except north, there is a special block, containing three cells and a passage around them. while in the middle of the north stands a spacious hall—being the main entrance to the enclosure (Plate XIII*a*). The total number of rooms is 177 excluding the cells of the central block in each direction, there being 45 cells on the north and 44 in each of the other three sides. The highest part of the monastery mound was the main entrance hall at the north gate. In the southern and western central blocks there appear to have been no arrangement for ingress, while in the middle of the eastern block possibly a small passage was provided for private entrance. In front of the main entrance hall in the north gate a number of structures have been unearthed outside the enclosure, one of which on the east probably served as a waiting hall or accommodated the guards of the establishment. Others, such as the two circular structures standing on a square base (Plate XXV*c*) flanking the staircase were votive in character. If there was any lay population at this purely religious establishment, it is probable that the traces of high land or eminence to the north-east of the north gateway represent the ruins of their dwellings. The adjoining village is still named Dharmapurī. It is likely that although the Vihāra founded by Dharmapāla bore the name of Somapura, the settlement that grew to the north along with this gigantic Vihāra was named after the founder.

On ascending the broad staircase built of brick-on-edge over flat bricks, the main entrance hall of the gateway is reached (Plate XIII*b*). This measures 50′ by 47′ and it is clear that it was renewed at least twice. The floor of the last period is made of concrete on a soling of bricks and the bases of thick pillars and thin pilasters, all in stone, at regular intervals of 10′ in length and 15′ in breadth, show that the roof was supported on pillars. None of the shafts of the pillars were, however, recovered from the excavation and it is possible that they were removed *in toto* after the destruction of the building, or were made of perishable materials like wood. In the east and west walls of the hall, which are still preserved up to the height of over 12′, it is noticed that at the height of 6′ 9″ from the stone bases, a band of bricks-on-edge has been introduced in the masonry to relieve the monotony of the ashlar courses. The same method is employed in other walls particularly in the central monastery and the verandah on the second floor of the main temple. The present passage from the outer to the inner hall is crossed by a stone step 2′ 5″ and a stone threshold 7′ 11″ in

width. A portion of the wall on the south side of the threshold seems to have been rebuilt, some niches or recesses in the wall being subsequently bricked up, as is apparent from the vertical cut in the masonry bond near the door. The door leading to the outer hall was apparently bolted behind by a wooden log, as is clear from the chases in the wall which are 7½″ wide and 6″ deep. The inner hall measures 37′ × 24′ and here also the bases of stone pillars and pilasters and traces of two concrete floors separated by a foot are quite clear.

The inner hall leads one through the main verandah to a ruined flight of steps leading to the courtyard exactly in front of the main temple. It is not, however, easy at this point to follow the exact way by which the passage from the main gate led to the enclosure around the main temple. The intervening space is now occupied by a deep pool, and there is nothing to indicate any brick or concrete floor provided in the gangway which might have run straight from the entrance hall to the main staircase. At the southern edge of the pool and beyond the enclosure wall of the main temple, a stretch of concrete flooring is visible. Beyond this the clearance of the tank, however, brought to light only silt, and a few finds of minor antiquities, notably the image of Hevajra (Plate XXXVIII*c*). Possibly the floor must have been totally destroyed.

Turning to the actual monastery building, attention may be drawn to the cells situated immediately to the east of the outer hall of the gateway (Plate XIV*c*) which must have been one of the most important places in the monastery area, and was probably used as an office or strong room by the head or elder of the Mahāvihāra. The main passage to this room, which was originally through room 2, was 4′ wide, but it was later reduced to a narrow opening of only 1′ 9″ in width and 4′ 7″ in height. The reduction is effected by two wallings on either side, each about 1′ to 1½′ in width and closed on the top by five corbelling courses (Plate XIV*d*). In the east wall of this room was a recessed opening probably serving as a window. In the north wall, the room has an opening 5′ 4″ wide, which was similarly reduced to 2′ 2″, although the height was slightly greater. The opening here also shows a corbelled course on the top. The western face of this room is not clear but it must belong to the original period of construction of the entrance hall. The thick plaster made of strong *surki* traceable on the walls of this room is not met with elsewhere in Paharpur. At a still later period the passage to the room from the north, east and south was filled up by *débris* and a new floor constructed over three feet higher than the original floor. It was during the removal of this *débris* that the richest hoard of loose antiquities so far found at Paharpur was recovered. It consists of five copper coins, several iron pieces and fragments of copper utensils, 30 stone beads and over 35 inscribed terracotta sealings (Plate LIX).

The coins include three of a unique type showing a rather clumsily depicted bull on the obverse and three fish on the reverse, and two belonging to the well-known type of Vigrahapāla I (Plate LVIII *g*). The beads included several diamond-cut cornelian beads (Plate LXII-27) of excellent finish. A majority of the sealings refer to two persons named Dharmasena (Plate LIX*b* and *c*) and Simhasena (Plate LIX*a*), who must have been important dignitaries in the first Pāla empire,

as their seals have also been discovered in the excavations at Nālandā. There are several specimens of the sealings of the 'community of monks from the great Vihāra of Dharmapāla at Somapura' which formed the main clue to the identification of this site. These sealings show a representation of the Buddhist wheel-of-law flanked by two deer in the upper register and the legend in the lower (Plate LIX*h*). Big lumps of charcoal were recovered in this room, which from the grain, appear to be the remains of palm-wood and indicate the use of rafters of this material for the roofing and their destruction by fire. In this connection it is interesting to find in a Nālandā inscription that the forces of Vangāla (*i.e.*, East Bengal) once attacked and set fire to the monastery of Somapura.

The general plan of the rooms of the monastery is clear from that of room No. 5 (see Plate I). Here we find a room measuring 13′ 6″ square with a brick platform on the back of the room proper, the ground plan of which shows a projection formed by courses of ornamental bricks. At the rear is found a room 8′ 6″ in length and 15′ 6″ in breadth. Rarely as in the rear wall of room 3 is found a recessed niche over 3′ 6″ wide which formed an adjunct or loft for the main room. The back room of No. 5 was provided with a floor about 1′ 6″ higher and access was provided to the back room by placing a stepping stone against the back wall so as to facilitate ascent. But in no case was any separate entrance provided to the back room, except through the main room.

The general character of the exterior wall of the monastery is its solidity and thickness (Plate XII*a*, *b* and *c*). The outer wall was as much as 16′ in thickness and from 12′ to 15′ in height. Signs of repairs in course of which a wholesale rebuilding of the wall took place are in evidence at a number of places where apparently the old facing was completely renewed (Plate XII*c*). The vertical joints of repaired masonry, visible in a large number of places in the external wall and the slight recessed or projected face of the wall at intervals, show clearly the frequent repairs which were necessitated by the wear and tear to which the wall was naturally subjected. Apart from these repairs in course of which a slight bulging out of the renewed face from the old wall is inevitable, no sign of the erection of a buttress is visible.

The ground plan of the monastery reveals the striking feature that as many as 92 rooms contain ornamental pedestals occupying the central position as one would enter the cells from the verandah. The presence of such a large number of pedestals in rooms, which must have undoubtedly something to do with worship or ceremonials, is certainly not in accord with their character as living accommodation for the monks attached to this Vihāra. Such elaborate niches and pedestals (Plates XV—XVII) do not occur in the monasteries of Nālandā and Sārnāth and the purpose of constructing so many places of worship instead of a few private chapels remains obscure. It may, however, be stated that in the original monastery constructed by Dharmapāla there was no such arrangement of ornamental pedestals as is clear from the excavation of the original floors of rooms wherever such excavation was possible owing to the absence of later remains above. The pedestals are generally associated with thick concrete

floors and broad doorways which exhibit an inward splay enabling the door-leaves to be properly supported, when open, in the thickness of the walls. All these structures must be considered to belong to the second period of the monastery when apparently the establishment was at the height of its glory. In this connection it is interesting to note that an inscription[1] recorded by a monk named Vipulaśrīmitra in one of the Nālandā monasteries referring to the 11th or 12th century A.D., mentions that the monk carried out a programme of extensive renovation to the inner and outer sections of the fourfold monastery that was a 'singular feast to the eyes of the world'. If the construction of floors, establishment and installation of the pedestals are alone considered as the work of this monk, there can be no doubt that he was justly proud of his achievements. It is unfortunate that at Paharpur itself no record regarding the authorship and details of the work of construction or renovation has been left.

In front of rooms 4 to 6 there are three stone pillar bases which must belong to the latest period of occupation of the monastery. The second buttress wall outside rooms 7 to 9 is decorated with a row of plaques and a cornice in the style of the main temple. It continues as a projection ornamented with a row of plaques (Plate XXV*d*) on the east and west sides facing the courtyard. This is a work of the second period, approximately the 11th century. All the plaques here are of smaller size (size being 9″×8″). One of these depicts a warrior with bow in hand and drawing an arrow out of a quiver, another shows a man beating a drum, a third an antelope conchant at great speed with pennon flying from its neck and a fourth shows a lion with almost a human face raising a paw with its tail raised up. A stairway at a short distance to the east led up from the courtyard to the original verandah in front of room 11, but it was built over by the first additional wall added to the verandah wall adjoining the courtyard. In the courtyard itself in front of cells 4 to 9 there are extensive later structures, consisting of a number of irregular cells ranged round an open space (Plate XIX*b*, foreground) but there seems to have been nothing of value either in the structures or the finds. Two square platforms, one of which stands on a circular base adjoining the second buttress wall in front of rooms 4 and 5, appear to be the only early structures on this side.

A number of small stones spread over the floor of room 10 are connected with an ornamental pedestal which has now disappeared. The pedestal in No. 11 shows not only the projecting façade but also the short side walls, apparently meant to protect the wings of the pedestal. Behind the pedestal in the back wall of this room were found two circular holes in the floor which may have been used for the erection of temporary structures such as canopies over the pedestal. The verandah in front of Nos. 12, 13, 14 and 15 has been dug to a lower level and shows at least six rectangular brick pillars of the earlier period when apparently a railing possibly of wood was supported on pillars resting on these bases.

Beyond room 15, in the northern side of the monastery there appears to have been originally a postern gate provided with the only other entrance to the

[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol XXI, p. 97.

monastery except through the main gate on the north (Plate XVIII*a*). The different periods at which the monastery underwent repair and restoration can be conveniently studied in the passage leading to the courtyard at this point. The original level here is indicated by the well-constructed concrete floor associated with a stone door-sill at the outer side of the rampart wall of the monastery (Plate XVIII*b*). The second period is indicated by a level 1′ 6″ higher than the first when the original entrance over the stone threshold was blocked up and the doorway renovated at a higher level in burnt brick masonry with inward splayed door-jambs showing for resting the door-leaves, as in the regular door openings of this period. Inside, a small guard room which flanked the passage on the east was now superseded by small niches on the west wall of the passage built at a correspondingly higher level which must have henceforth sufficed for the watchmen. A new floor was erected throughout the passage which must have, as before, provided access to the interior of the courtyard and to the verandah on either side by means of a small stairway. At a later period the entire passage which was several feet lower than the level of the monastic cells was filled up and the room brought practically to the same level as the cells in the latest period of the monastery. Even then the room could hardly be made to fit in with other rooms on either side and during the course of excavation of the range of cells on this side attention was at once drawn to the discrepancy between the dimensions of the room and the shape and size of the doorway leading to it from the verandah. On the exterior the stone-sill below and the filled-up doorways left no doubt as to the existence of the passage and the clearance of the entire area led to the results indicated above.

In the adjoining courtyard there are certain structures within a boundary wall which encloses it on all sides except partly on the west. Of these, the square structure on the south which has a small projection in the middle of each side is a platform probably of the second period of the monastery, obviously of little significance. Another square structure immediately to the south of rooms 14 and 15 is also a later addition, as it would appear from its different orientation. The original verandah wall and the buttress wall supplementing it show a rounded cornice at the point where the passage leads to the courtyard. The difference between the earlier and later courtyard walls and the respective levels is clearly shown by the steps leading from the courtyard to the buttress wall of the verandah and those leading from the eastern wall of the passage to the original verandah.

In the rooms 19 and 20 the floor of the second period is constructed with well-rammed concrete with probably a little admixture of lime and its surface is as hard and smooth as it must have been originally. In the last room (room 23) a number of jars were found on the floor apparently for the storage of grains and other necessaries. At the north-eastern corner of the monastery just abutting on to the north rampart wall and in a line with the eastern wall appears a rectangular structure of bricks laid on edge, as in a landing stage—the landing itself being supported on a pair of cylindrical short piers of brick work at either end (Plate XVIIIc). This work appears to belong to an earlier

period when the passage near room 15 was open, no access to the interior being originally intended here. The low level of the landing stage of the northern corner leads to the supposition that the latter was also fairly early in date and not far removed from the earliest monastery. A similar passage has been found at the south-eastern corner of the monastery removed 34′ from the south-east corner where the steps of the passage are quite clear.

Of the finds made in the rooms in the north-east side of the monastery a few deserve to be mentioned. In room 7 was found a fragment of the back-ground (*prabhāvali*) of an image of considerable size inscribed with the parts of the Mahāyāna Buddhist creed. This undoubtedly pertains to an image which was once installed in one of the existing pedestals of this site. But no image commensurate with the size of the halo has come to light. From the next room (No. 8) came a stone image (No. 885) of the goddess Manasā who is invoked for protection from snake-bite, the cult being particularly in evidence from the 11th century onwards (Plate XXXVIII *g*). This cannot be regarded as a Buddhist deity, but it is interesting that the worship of many Hindu deities was prevalent at Paharpur. Several plaques and bricks with floral ornamentations were found just outside the monastery walls and it is possible that they were originally used for decorating the face of the exterior wall. A stone image of the same type as the reliefs fixed in the basement of the main temple was discovered on the *pucca* floor of room 21 belonging to the second period of the monastery. It represents Vasudeva taking the child Kṛishna from Devakī (Plate XXXIII*d*). The two figures are depicted exactly as several of the figures fixed in the corners of the basement of the main temple and possibly the relief was originally one of the corner figures. In room 22 a small copper vessel (No. 1072) with a hole in the pointed base was discovered at the back of the ornamental pedestal of the room. It suggests the purpose of some ceremonial ablution. A few finds of cornelian and agate beads are also recorded along with the usual terracotta objects and pottery.

The eastern rooms of the monastery particularly at the northern (Plate XIX*b*) and southern extremities have been much damaged owing to the fact that the north-eastern corner was much subjected to the ravages of the brick-hunters owing to the proximity of the village and the south-east was brought under a Local Board road which ran through it before the monument was brought under protection. The central rooms are, however, in a better state of preservation. On the east the monks must have been required to proceed to the temple of Tārā, which has now been located at the Satyapir Bhiṭā mound and the road further to the capital of the province (*viz.*, Puṇḍravardhana or Mahasthan) must have led almost along the alignment of the present Paharpur-Jamalganj Road. Although the main entrance was situated on the north in proximity to the village, it was inevitable that there should have been on the east side a subsidiary or private means of admittance and exit for the monks.

The central block on the east was, like the other two, marked externally by a projection in the face of the exterior wall of the monastery, and traces of a regular break 6′ 6″ in width are visible in the back wall, where a few steps may

have led to the passage running round the central block. Of the floor and the shrine in the central block consisting of three rooms, only the ornamental pedestal in the southern room is preserved. The existence of a masonry drain, which empties itself into the inner courtyard and has been traced up to the front of room 45, leads to the supposition that there must have been a shrine where ceremonial ablution of images was performed. At a later period it appears that the passage round the central block was obstructed by the walls in continuation of the back-walls of the rooms in this row and also of the side walls of the central room. The passage was thus divided into five small cells, the eastern part being cut off.

The frontage of the central block in the eastern side towards the courtyard consisted of a platform which projected 3′ from the original face of the verandah and with two rectangular projections projecting for a distance of 32′ ended in a flight of stairs 11′ 6″ in width. Originally the steps of this stair were built of concrete but they were later covered by stone blocks at least in the last 5-6 steps, the last one consisting of big stone slabs which still exist (Plate XXIV*c*). There are depressions in the middle of each of the stones forming the last step, which indicate the wear which the sandstone of which they are made underwent owing to constant use. The tread of the steps is 18″ wide and the rise about 7″ in height. The original level of the courtyard in front of the steps was almost similar to that of the original ground level around the main temple. The position of the central block of the eastern monastery and the steps leading to the courtyard is, however, removed by 40′ to the north of the centre of the eastern façade of the main temple. The central blocks on northern and southern sides are, however, coincident with the central points of the façade on those sides. It is, therefore, apparent that owing to the staircase and other extensions on the north side the monument was not built exactly in the centre of the monastery but was moved closer to the south, in which direction the distance intervening between the central block on the southern side and the main temple is least. It is worthy of note that the central blocks at the landing on the east and west sides are themselves not exactly in the same straight line (see Plate I), the western landing being slightly deflected towards the south. The fact that the sides of the monastery are not exactly in a line with the main temple cannot thus be regarded as a ground against the contemporaneity of the temple and the monastery.

Of the 44 rooms on the eastern side at least 24 show the existence of masonry pedestals in stone or brick in them. They are usually 6′ to 8′ in length and 4′ 6″ or more in breadth. A large majority of the plans of these pedestals show projections only on the front side, the other three sides being plain rectangular. Some, however, show a projection on the side as that in room 45, while the pedestal in room 61 shows an earlier projection in front and another of the later period at the back. There are multiple pedestals as in rooms 37 (Plate XVI *c*), 38 and 42 and the plan of the pedestals of rooms 25 and 46 shows a single projection in the centre with butterfly wings, the latter being made of stone. In room 29, there is a rectangular projection in front of the regular pedestal which may

have served the purpose of keeping accessories of worship or providing a seat for the worshipper. Between rooms 28 and 29 and in the wall dividing them is a small chamber 4′ square probably for a guard. No other room similar to this has been discovered. In the elevation, some of the pedestals show considerable diversity, those in rooms 43 and 44 being noteworthy in this connection. The stone pedestal in room 46 (Plates XVI*d* and XV*c*) is constructed with dressed stones fitted together by iron dowels which are still in position and the particularly thick concrete floor over it shows distinct traces of lime mixed with the concrete which has given it its present hardness. Rooms 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 41, 42 and 44 are provided with stone doorsills and there are stones in rooms 34 and 39 and brick steps in 36 leading to the back room. Two stones fixed in the front wall of room 44 show that they must have been used as 'bracket capitals'. In front of the row of cells to the north of the central block there are a few structures in the adjoining court. A late platform adjoining the buttress wall of the verandah in front of room 33 reveals a row of plaques, 9″ high, including a curious figure showing a bust with ears pointed upwards, as though it were a clown (Plate XLVII *e*). Such plaques must have been originally belonged to the main temple wherefrom they were brought down in course of time. In room 37, stones have been provided at the corners of the multiple pedestal and there are grooves cut in them probably with a view to fix awnings. The back room here is shorter than the main room by at least 4′. There is a shallow circular brick structure in a corner of room 39, in which some ashes and charcoal were found.

In the court adjoining the cells south of the central block on the east side are found some of the principal subsidiary structures within the compound (Plate XX *a*). The most important of these is a miniature replica of the central shrine (48′ in length and breadth) in which the ground plan of the main temple with its triple projection between each arm of the cross is faithfully reproduced (Plate XX *b*). In addition to the projection for the steps on the north side, in the main temple, there are steps on the other three sides in this miniature model. In this way the plan of the main temple is perfected and made more symmetrical in the model. The upper floors are of course not attempted but at a distance of 10′ from the shrine, an enclosure wall roughly parallel to the shrine with outlets at intervals for the passage of water has been provided. Only two projecting angles are attempted in the surrounding wall and the wall usually 3′ 6″ wide has been thickened to 5′ 9″ in the middle of the north, west and south sides. The entrance is in the middle of the east side. The original construction of this must be attributed to the 10th or 11th century, as hereafter it is unlikely that the rising of water level would have allowed the original enclosure walls to be used and imitated as in this model.

The elevation of the miniature replica of the main temple above the ground floor contains several points which also strengthen the conclusion regarding its age. Above the five courses of plain ashlar work there is a slanting cornice in which there are slightly raised-up knobs at each corner, while above are several courses of chamfered and half-round moulded bricks. The knobs in the brick-work are not known in the main temple but are met with in certain votive

stūpas and ornamental pedestals of the monastery at Satyapir Bhiṭā. It is worthy of note that the mouldings found in the elevation of the shrine are not extended to the staircases. In the compound wall, as in the floor surrounding the shrine, there are clear traces of at least two periods. The lower floor is about 1′ 4″ below the present floor and was drained by a channel which is clearly seen in the west side of the enclosure walls about 8″ below the drain of the later period. The foundation of the main shrine here is solidly laid going down to a depth of 7′ 6″ below the present floor level and made up of 9 offsets which again rest on a soling of brick-bats. The compound wall, on the other hand, goes down 2 below the existing level. A pit was sunk in the centre of the miniature shrine here and was carried to a depth of about 12 ft. from the top. Beyond a few bits of charcoal found at a depth of 9′ 4″ there was nothing found to show that any relics were deposited. In fact, beyond the discovery of votive tablets in a specially built relic chamber at the Satyapir Bhiṭā, there is no evidence at Paharpur of any relics regularly deposited in an ornamental shrine or *vedī* and the stray finds of charcoal and ashes made here and at other places cannot prove anything in this direction. Just along the outer edge of this building a number of circular brick finials of different sizes undoubtedly fitting one above the other were found.

To the south-east of the Paharpur establishment at a distance of 160 ft. from the outer wall of the monastery Professor D. R. Bhandarkar brought to light a bathing *ghāt* (Plate XXII *d*). It was apparently to trace a tradition still existing among the people of the surrounding villages that Sandhyāvatī, the daughter of a king named Mahidalan, used to bathe at the *ghāt* everyday at the place excavated (*A. S. R.*, 1922-23, p. 116). This Sandhyāvatī is supposed to be the mother of Satyapir through immaculate conception which Mahidalan refused to acknowledge and the legend goes on to narrate how Satyapir, who grew to be a great saint at the palace of his grand-father was destroyed by a visitation of floods. It is obvious that around the ruins of the great establishment and the surrounding ruins of the *ghāt* and the temple of Tārā in the neighbourhood the Muhammadan population of the 16th and 17th centuries has woven a web of legends to glorify their saints and holy men. The *ghāt* itself consists of an outward parapet wall of brick masonry (5 ft. wide) on either side of a ramp paved with brick-on-edge and concrete. The *ghāt* is oriented not parallel to the south wall of the monastery but is slightly inclined towards the north. At the head of the *ghāt* there is brick-work 12′ in length, in which huge stone blocks are laid. The *ghāt* further descends to a gentle slope of 41 ft. where occurs a band of lime stone slabs. The parapet walls had splayed ends at this point, but the bottom is submerged under water level. The bed of this masonry *ghāt* is covered with sand which occurs here everywhere at this level. If, therefore, the existence of a river is to be assumed in order to account for this sand, the river must have been at least a mile in width.

At a distance of about 40′ to the south-west of the *ghāt* stood an isolated little mound called locally 'the Temple of Gandheśvarī'. Its excavation revealed the existence of a structure coming down from the 14th or 15th century A.D.

It consists of a rectangular hall measuring 22′×11′ 6″ with an octagonal brick pillar base in the centre and a small room about 4′ 9″ square at the west end projecting in the middle of the western wall (Plate XXII *c*). If this building is a temple erected for worship by the Hindus during the Muhammadan period the room in the west may have been the shrine and the four small niches on the side walls may also have held other objects of worship. The lotus medallion and bricks with floral pattern used in the front wall as also the mortar used between the joints of the walls are sufficient indications to the period of construction of the building. A circular platform 24′ in diameter with a brick-on-edge floor standing to the east of the building and in front of the door may also have been attached to this late temple, but its shape is quite unorthodox and dissimilar to earlier structures for similar purposes.

Another interesting building standing at a distance of 40′ from the verandah in front of rooms 46 to 48 consists of a square solid platform in the centre measuring 17′ square, with four smaller square platforms 10′ to 11′ 9″ square standing at the outer corners, the whole being surrounded by an enclosure wall (Plate XX *a*). As this belongs to a comparatively recent period not earlier than the 10th or 11th century, it cannot be taken to have any significance of 'a building of five stūpas' (*Pañcha-stūpa*) with reference to the mention in the copper plate of the 5th century, that its excavator Mr. Chandra claims for it. A similar but smaller structure enclosed within a square stands in the courtyard in front of room 59 due south of the temple replica. There are late superficial rooms in front of rooms Nos. 51, 52 and 55. Two other structures in front of cells 57 and 58 consisting of four parallel walls of almost a similar height must be taken to be the damp proof courses in the foundation of structures that have disappeared. A complete structure with platform still existing can be found in the courtyard near room 164. In the southern courtyard, at a distance of 12′ from both the eastern and southern verandah walls, is found a square platform 32′ each way, with projections in the centre of each face. This is apparently to be referred to the latest period of the monastery, but its walls were at least 8′ deep, with four offsets in the foundation.

Of the antiquities found in the eastern monastery, with the exception of a standing bronze image of Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā* (Plate LVIII, *b*) and seated Kubera (or Jambhala) (Plate LVIII, *e*) and a stone image of Revanta, the god of hunting found in room 34, the rest are all of a secular character. From room 28 comes a grinding millstone which was undoubtedly used for the daily food of the monks (No. 1223). Similar use must have included pestle and mortar found in the concrete course of room 48. Other finds are a copper vessel (No. 1568) in the court of room 65, a number of well-preserved terracotta drinking cups and other vessels from rooms 33 to 40 and bell-shaped pottery vases.

In the southern monastery there are 44 rooms, besides the central block, of which at least half are furnished with ornamental pedestals referred to in the description of the other two sides. The block in the middle of the southern side consists, like those on the east and west, of three rooms with a surrounding passage, but the outlines of the side rooms can hardly be made out. It is,

however, strongly built with at least 12 offsets in foundation. Only the course of a carefully built masonry drain which drained the water from the central shrine to the courtyard can be distinctly made out, although the gargoyle mouth at the discharge end is not visible. A feature of the projection is the existence at least of six brick piers with short walls in continuation running parallel to each other from north to south, which must have been intended for the support of the landing of the stairway which here led towards the main temple. The masonry of the landing and stairway is however in a fragmentary condition, only the bare outline of the outer walls being made out. A row of plaques which was found *in situ* near the mouth of the drain includes a representation of the story of the lion looking into the well and another showing a peacock fighting with a snake.

In the verandah to the east of the southern row of cells we find a flight of steps 3′ 4″ wide which provided access to the top of the rampart wall. On the other side of the wall there is a landing, 11′ 6″ wide, standing against the exterior face of the wall which may have provided access to the top of the wall in the last period of occupation. At this point, we find a heap of broken pottery several feet in depth and it appears possible that the rubbish from the monastery was accumulated here. In room 68, we find a stone at the back wall, possibly providing a step for the back room. In room 70 an architectural stone image of a Dvārapāla in relief (No. 1402; Plate XXXVIII *d*) was found near the back door of the cells. It is of the same type as the stone sculptures fixed in the basement wall of the main temple and must have been brought from there in the later period. Some of the ornamental pedestals of the rooms on the south side are interesting. Room 74 has a pedestal with triple rectangular projections. Room 75 has a well-preserved triple brick pedestal (Plates XV *b* and XVII *b*), while room 84 has got a well-preserved stone pedestal with only one projection. Rooms 75 to 79, and 83 have stone door-sills, connected with the later floor level. In the ornamentation of the pedestal in room 88 we find some knobs at the corners below the course of half-round bricks as we find in the miniature replica of the main temple. The side walls of the room appear to have undergone repair as traces of two successive walls can be observed. A stone lintel appears to have been placed underneath the stone forming the door-sill here. Two bracket capitals have also been introduced in the sides of the door-sill. The verandah in front of these cells on the east side in the southern monastery appears to have undergone reconstruction in successive periods. The verandah level here was found to be at least 2′ below the stone door-sill in room 88. This shows that the reconstruction of the verandah did not every time keep pace with the reconstruction that was going on in the rooms. The high level of the room here appears to have been due to the proximity of the central block. There are weep-holes in the verandah and buttress walls between rooms 87 and 88. It is noteworthy that none of the connections for draining the level of the cells and verandah have yet been found to carry water outside the compound.

In the courtyard, not far from the rooms 73 and 74, are five shrines with a highly ornamented superstructure and a plan with a number of projections in

which bold torus and deep cornice mouldings are prominent (Plate XX *c*). The plan of the south-eastern structure showing the shape of a 16 sided star is the most interesting in this group (Plate XV *d*). Its companion on the north showing two rectangular projections in a square plan has the battlement cornice, as also the knob, which relegates it to the 11th century A.D. The other three shrines on the west are simpler in plan, having only one projection and earlier than the two on the east, inasmuch as the plinth of the former group has been encroached by the circular base of the star-shaped shrine. All the five were subsequently enclosed within a compound wall which touches a stepped approach from the verandah. To the north of this group is a well of which the internal diameter is 8′ 3″. The masonry is of the best type and an attempt was made to relieve the monotony of the brick layers by laying some masonry in a herring-bone pattern. The presence of a well here is to be accounted for by the existence of a long hall at a short distance to the west which was no doubt the refectory or dining hall connected with this establishment. All this area is thickly strewn with pottery.

In the south-eastern part of the compound of the monastery at Paharpur, there are several structures, which must undoubtedly be connected with the feeding arrangements of the establishment. It is not possible now to uncover the entire length of the long hall, but the end walls have been exposed to a length of over 120 ft. commencing from the southern verandah. Heaps of charcoal and ashes found inside this structure indicate that the building of the last period here was roofed by timber and was destroyed in the course of some conflagration. There are indications of two successive reconstructions in this part, and it appears from the heaps of *débris* and pottery, which have been strewn underneath the floor of the last period, that it was necessary to raise the height and level up the place before it was reconstructed for the third time. Three pairs of brick piers are visible above the floor of the last period and were undoubtedly necessary to support the roof to the south-west of this refectory (*bhojanaśālā*). There is a well built masonry drain in which two distinct periods can also be traced (Plate XXI *a* and *b*). It is worthy of note that the drains slope inwards from the monastery walls (Plate XXI *b*) from which it appears that the water was in the end carried to a point inside the compound somewhere in the north, where it has already been assumed that there was a masonry tank or a pool of some sort. To the west of the drain, which has been traced to a length of over 150′ northward, there are three large wells in a row, and it is very probable that they supplied the needs of the kitchen and refectory. The large building further west, which extends from east to west, is apparently the cooking establishment of the *vihāra*. The building consists of a lárge hall in the centre with a narrow corridor all around, but the masonry is of an inferior character. A curious feature is the presence of a number of stones arranged in rows around the corridor which are associated with brick piers on the further side of the walls. A quantity of ashes and charcoal was discovered from this building, particularly at the western end, which seems to have been used for the actual operations.

The row of cells to the west of the central block in the southern part of the monastery contains a number of ornamental pedestals on either sides. Very few antiquities were recovered from this part of the monastery. Room 96 was broken through for the construction of a drain and shows clearly the cross sections of the wall and floor in the monastery. At this point the floor level of the first monastery is about 5′ from surface, that of the second 3′, while the uppermost is within a foot from the ground level. In the verandah the difference between the two successive floors is only a foot. The best constructed floor is that in the intermediate level which consists of well-rammed concrete finished smoothly and in association with the ornamental pedestals found all throughout the monastery. The foundations of the rooms go down to a depth of over 8′ below the original floor, there being several offsets in the foundation of the main wall adjoining the verandah as also in the outer rampart wall of the monastery.

Room 102 was filled up in the intermediate period and a pathway constructed across it and the outer wall to the south leading by means of a connecting gangway to a platform running parallel to the monastery at a distance of 89′ from the outer wall. At this point a small mound stood out of the general alignment of the southern monastery and its prominent position led to its excavation three years earlier than the clearance of the southern monastery. The raised pathway or gangway is 16′ 6″ in width, being made up of two walls, 6′ and 5′ 6″ in breadth respectively, separated by a gap of 5′ which was composed of a filling of brick and *débris*. At a distance of 9′ from the point where this raised pathway joins the walls of the monastery, the path passed over a vaulted passage below running parallel to the south rampart wall, which is 6′ 4″ in width and must have been at least 8′ 3″ in height. The bottom of this is provided with a proper concrete floor which is 2′ 6″ below the present ground level and must therefore conform to the ground level of the period at which it was constructed. The bricks of the vaulted roof of this passage were laid vertically with a slight inward curvature but not like voussoirs of a radiating arch. It is therefore clear that though the builders at Paharpur preferred to employ the trabeated arch in spanning short distances as in drains, niches, small passages, etc., they could employ the true vault when faced with the problem of spanning longer distances. A corbelled construction in the present instance may have restricted the free passage of people outside the enclosure from one side to another and was apparently given up in favour of vaulted construction. In the imitation 'cave' in the monastery No. I at Nālaṇdā a similar vault has been found. The growing volume of archæological evidence now renders it necessary to discard the old notion about the knowledge and use of the radiating arch and vault in the pre-Muhammadan times. It would be more in accord with the ascertained facts to say that the Hindu and Buddhist builders all over the East showed marked preference to the trabeated style, although the true vault and sometimes also the radiating arch were not unknown.

The structure to which the gangway led is an open platform 105′ 6″ × 27′. It stood about 10′ above the adjoining ground level and was not accessible from any other side except the monastery (Plate XXII *a*). Along its entire southern

face there are a series of water-chutes, each 1′ in width occurring at intervals of 4′ to 4′ 3″. The channels are each 4′ 3″ in length, with fine jointed brickwork inclined about 2 in 1 in the older channels. Some of these were subsequently blocked up and new channels provided with steeper incline were built on the top (Plate XXII *b*). At the original ground level outside, a sloping pavement of finely-laid bricks has been provided to drain away the water coming from channels along the entire length of the platform. The length to which the platform extends was not clear owing to its being enveloped with a deposit of sand which occurs almost everywhere around the Paharpur settlement for over a mile and is apparently to be connected with the existence of an old bed of a river in the neighbourhood. The top of the platform, though uneven, was once provided with a concrete floor as is apparent from its traces found here and there. In the northern portion traces of party-walls dividing a long hall into compartments are noticeable.

As to the structure there can be little doubt that it was concerned with ablution as the elaborate arrangement for the removal of water would show. The absence of any drains within the enclosure must have been felt rather keenly by the large congregation of the resident monks and the addition of this structure contemplated when wholesale repairs and reconstruction were taking place about the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century A.D. The only other purpose which could be suggested for the platform would be that of latrines, but the fine construction both of the platform as also of the brick-pavement at the ground level, the presence of the compartments in front and the absence of any signs of doors or party-walls between the channels precludes the possibility. Besides the simple life enjoined on the monks and the absence of any scavenging class in ancient and even modern Bengal without whom it would be impossible to preserve the sanitation of the monastery leads to the conclusion that the platform was used for the purpose of ablution only.

In the south-western part of the monastery, somewhere between rooms 107 and 109 was discovered an inscribed stone pillar in 1917 by a villager in course of digging for bricks. The inscription was brought to the notice of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi and was found to contain a record of the installation of the pillar by one Daśabalagarbha for the satisfaction of the Three Jewels. It is this discovery that led to the commencement of excavations at Paharpur in 1923 in this part of the monastery. The find, however, appears to have no significance in regard to the *provenance* and the pillar may have belonged to one of the halls of the central temple, there being no place for it in the astylar construction of the monastery. It is likely that it was used as a door-sill in one of the cells similar to several other stones utilised in this way.

The excavations of 1923 brought to light a portion of the southern verandah in which was discovered finely laid brick-floor divided into compartments by a double line of brick-on-edge. The floor extends to room 110 but has not been traced in any other part of the verandah. The passage at its western end also appears to have been converted into a room at the latest period as is apparent from a narrow wall across with traces of brick door-jambs.

Among the structures unearthed in the south-western compound mention may be made of two plain square brick *stūpas* and two ring-wells. One of these is 4′ 6″ in diameter and its top was strengthened by a brick-on-edge platform 10′ 3″ in diameter. North of this and in front of rooms 115-117 are certain wallings where several earthen jars were apparently fixed in the floor of the latest period. The late age of this area is apparent from the fact that it is connected with the last buttress wall of the verandah by a flight of stairs consisting of three steps.

The western part of the quadrangle appears to be the only part through which there exists no opening throughout the period of existence of the monastery. It was also the best preserved part of the quadrangle of the mound and some of the walls of the cells were preserved to a height of 6′ above the floor level. A panoramic view from the central temple wall gives a general idea as to the appearance of the site after excavation has been completed (Plate XXIV *a*). In the southern wing there are ten ornamental pedestals, while in the northern there are 12 including some of the best and most elaborate specimens particularly in the cells 149 to 154.

The central block in the western side consists of three rooms surrounded by a circumambulating passage, its position being marked out by a projection in the exterior wall of the monastery and a platform with projecting planes towards the courtyard, over which the landing and flight of stairs led to the main temple (Plate XXIV *b*). For the support of the latter a series of five parallel walls and cross walls as well, were erected to serve as the foundation of the landing. These walls, being laid partially on the walls of the verandah and the cross walls and partially on earth, have sunk at the latter places and present a curious wavy appearance owing to the unequal sinkage. The earlier steps were of brick-on-edge with a concrete layer which were superseded by a brick-built stair-way of the later period. The exterior of this projection was decorated with terracotta plaques as in the southern block and a stone gargoyle marks the mouth of a masonry drainage (Plate XXIV *d*), which was carefully taken from the southern and central rooms of the shrine through the intervening brick-masonry of the verandah and the projection (Plate XXI *c*). Apparently then the object of worship was placed here in the side room, and not in the central room. There are ornamental pedestals both in the central and the side rooms but that in the latter is more elaborate; the well-rammed concrete floor covers the erections of the period to which the drain belongs. The construction of the central block with its masonry descending in the offsets in the foundation (Plate XXIII *b*) has also been noticed above.

It is worthy of note that in the courtyard adjacent to the gargoyle was found a beautiful bronze image (Plate LVIII *a*) representing Hara-Gaurī or Umā-Maheśvara (No. 673) (height 5½″). The god is represented as seated in *rājalīlā* (royal ease) on a double lotus seat, holding *triśūla* in upper left and lotus in upper right hands, the other two hands being engaged in embracing and caressing the goddess seated on his lap to the left and characterised by a mirror in her hand. A couple of earthen jars full of shell-lime, such as was used for lining

the surface of drains, were also found. In the circumambulating passage in the central block was also discovered a jar (No. 550) provided with a lid consisting of a half round brick, in which about 3½ seers of cowries, some in good and others in an indifferent state of preservation, were found at the level of the floor of the later period. The find of these cowrie-shells raises the question as to the common currency that was in vogue during the Pāla period. It appears from the almost complete absence of any coins of this period (8th to 12th century A.D.) throughout Bengal that cowries fulfilled the purpose of medium of exchange at least so far as the ordinary transaction of the common people were concerned. It is thus not unnatural that the monks should have provided themselves amply with this humble currency.

The verandah in front of rooms 120 to 122 when excavated revealed the existence here of three rooms 8′ 6″ broad connected by doorways (Plate XXIII *a*), and standing isolated without any connection with the foundation offsets of the monastery of the second period. In the verandah of 121, we find a stone outlet drained into a channel which was carried across the verandah at a level over 3′ higher than the floor of the rooms below. The finds in the lower levels of this verandah include a big brick, measuring 17″×11″×3″, some terracotta plaques and part of an image of the Pāla period. It is not clear whether this early structure was already existing when the monastery was built, but the walls of these rooms are built over the offsets of the verandah wall on either side. It is noteworthy that at a depth of 10′ from top two plaques were found on the floor of the cells.

A flight of brick-on-edge steps in front of room 122 leads from the buttress wall of the verandah into the courtyard (Plate XXIII *c*). In this room (No. 122) two jars were found at a depth of 4′ 6″ or at the intermediate floor level, and a steatite image of Mañjuśrī seated in *rājalīlā* to be ascribed to the 10th century was discovered at a depth of 5′ 6″ in one of the jars. In the verandah of room 125 almost at the surface were discovered a number of coins of the Muhammadan period in a small pottery cup. These coins were issued by Sher Shāh, and Islām Shāh of the Sur dynasty, Bahādur Shāh and Daud Shāh Karrāni,- the last Afghan rulers of Bengal and a single piece was a rupee of Akbar. The hoard was thus kept at a time when Mughal conquest of Bengal was just emerging from the chaos that existed in the third quarter of the 16th century.

In the cells on the western side, the better preservation of the rooms and floor enables one to form a clear idea as to the nature of the cells and the different periods in which they underwent repair. Thus in rooms 133 to 137 one can have a clear idea as to the nature of the back rooms and the way in which access was provided to them through the main rooms. In the back or ante-rooms, which were generally at a higher level than the main room, it was necessary to provide stone slabs as steps as we find in rooms 125, 127, 128, 133, 134 and 152 or actual steps as in 135 and 145. In room 145 the top of the stone door-sill leading to the back room is 3′ higher than that of the floor, with which it is connected. Its walls are 5′-6″ in height, probably the highest in the monastery. In room 136 the existence of a low vaulted chamber 14′ in length is clear in the back room and

it is possible that it was once approached from outside; but at this period there appears to have been no communication between the main room and the ante-room as the whole passage has been bricked up (Plate XIII *d*). The chases in the wall at the springing of the vault may have been made for some wood work.

The difference in the size of the original room of the earliest period with its splayed door-jambs and that of the room of the second period with its splayed jambs is clear from a number of rooms on this side *viz.*, 132, 133, 136, 137, 147, 149 and 151 where both the alignments are clearly marked out. As a general rule, the rooms of the second period have slightly bigger dimensions with a broader doorway in front. During the third or last period the splayed door-jambs were bricked up and is clearly represented in rooms 130, 132, 152 and 154. Above the floor of room 133 a number of charcoal pieces were found scattered all round, particularly at the corner of the room at a depth of about 2′ 6″ below the surface. It is possible that these were the charred remains of the rafters employed in the roof. In room 132, jars were uncovered in two corners and were found embedded in the floors of the second and last periods. The stone door-sills in cells 133 and 134 are as high as those found in 87 and 88 and here also the contemporary level of the verandah was lower so as to necessitate the presence of a stone-step in front of room 133. Stones are also placed in front of rooms 143, 144 and 146. The apparent reason for this low level of the verandah is the existence of the central projection.

The most elaborate ornamentations in the basement of pedestals in the cells of the monastery are preserved in the northern side of the western wing of the monastery. It is difficult to see why after the construction of the gigantic monastery it was felt necessary to restrict the residential accommodation so seriously by building such ornamental pedestals in the living cells. It may be that the monks, who were accustomed to congregational prayers in the first period of construction, preferred to have private chapels each in his own cloister in the late or the 2nd period, and the diminishing demands for accommodation may have made it possible to provide for these individual necessities. At any rate, it is clear that while the original monastery was designed for the occupation of some 600 to 800 persons, not more than 400 monks may have lived in the monastery during the second period or about the eleven century A.D.

The pedestals in rooms 147 to 153 are among the most elaborate and occupy about half the space at the back. In room 145, there is a big pedestal made of stones joined together by iron clamps which have now disappeared (Plate XVI *a*). The large mortice holes, of which two are seen in the stones at the four corners and two in the front projection, were apparently meant for fixing some kind of canopy as the one in front of the pedestal in room 138. In the middle there is a brick platform, which apparently belongs to a later period. The stone pedestal in this case can be compared with that in room 46, where also the use of clamps jointed to stones is noticeable (Plate XVI *d*). Among pedestals made of bricks, those in rooms 138, 149, 153 and 161 and 168 in the north wing, are noteworthy. In plan they consist of rectangular sides with two or three projections in front, their elevations showing

a variety of moulded designs consisting of projecting and recessed courses of bricks (Plate XV). In the pedestal of room 149 (Plate XVI *b*) a semi-circular seat composed of two layers of bricks is noticeable, which was probably used for keeping the deity when brought down from the throne, while on the top is a rectangular notch for fixing a rod, most probably the umbrella rod. The pedestal in room 153 shows a number of bricks jutting out at the top, which were probably connected with some superstructure. In the elevation of this are to be seen bands of dentil pattern (Plates XV *a* and XVII *c*) which are again met with in the decoration of the votive *stūpa* in the Satyapir Bhiṭā compound. The large round holes, one in front of the pedestal and four by the sides, which were made in the floor of room 138 (Plate XVII *d*), are meant for placing bamboo or wooden pillars to support a canopy or awning. The pedestal in room 161 shows a broad band in the middle of the elevation (Plate XV) and that in room 168 shows recesses between the bands of mouldings of the pedestal in which it is likely that plaques may have been intended to be fixed at one time (Plates XV *e* and XVII *a*).

A general view of the north-west corner of the monastery is shown in Plate XIX *a*. On this side, the rooms were comparatively well preserved, but there existed a channel cut through the entire breadth of the monastery near room 162 which enabled water from outside to pond within the enclosure. The verandah at the north-west corner shows the bases of pillars opposite to rooms 153 and 154. The northernmost room on the western wing (No. 155) appears to have been reduced to a small cell at the last period of occupation by the construction of a buttress wall against the eastern and southern walls of the original room. In the western wing of the northern side of the monastery, there are traces of pedestals or their bases in practically every room. The adjoining compound appears to have held some important structures enclosed within a regular brick wall, which runs from the verandah against room 174 to room 162. The eastern part of this enclosure is not quite clear, but in the western, opposite rooms 162 to 164, there are some well-preserved structures (Plate XXV *a*), which are marked off by a separate enclosure wall (Plate XXV *b*). At intervals there are rectangular weep-holes through the enclosure wall, which were intended at different periods to carry off water from the enclosure. The most important structure within the enclosure is a square brick structure in which the lower part (Plate XXV *a*) consists of three channels separated by wallings and closed on the top by corbelled brick work. On this as a foundation was built a room with a verandah. At several places in the Paharpur enclosure, similar structures have also been found, the extant parts being the foundations consisting of walls separating the corbelled channels. Only in the present case, the entire superstructure is more or less preserved to some extent. It is not quite clear what the purpose of the corbelled channels was, but it is very likely that this device may have been employed in order to keep out damp from reaching the upper structure. On this ground, the whole structure has been called a 'damp-proof' structure. To the east of this is another square structure within the same enclosure. Further west beyond the enclosure wall

is a big well with a paved platform around being one of the best masonry wells in the compound.

In rooms 165 to 176 the ante-rooms of the cells are well preserved, and the stepping stones, which give access to them, are preserved in rooms 169 to 173. The size of the rooms 175 and 176 is unusually small owing to re-arrangements of walls and the complex of rooms behind rooms 176 and 177, which corresponds to the important office room behind room 2, is not quite clear.

Of the finds ot importance made in this part of the monastery, mention may be made of the bronze images of Gaṇeśa (Plate LVIII *f*) found in the court in front of room 159, a bronze Jaina image (Plate LVIII *c*) found in the court in front of room 170, part of a bronze *prabhāvali* in the verandah of room 175 and a few fragmentary stone images found in some of the rooms.

CHAPTER IV.

Stone Sculpture.

The stone reliefs at Paharpur form the most interesting and unique part of the discoveries ever made in Eastern India. The excavation of the entire area which has extended over several years has not brought to light any loose sculptures of large size except two or three, belonging to the same class as the 63 reliefs fixed in the basement of the temple. The number of the latter is at once so high and the pantheon represented by them so varied, that it is a marvel how they have been preserved in the position in which they were fixed over a thousand years ago. The stones used in them are at least of three kinds and the styles of workmanship exhibit at least three different trends. Almost all the sculptures stand out prominently in contrast to the profuse products of the Pāla period in Bengal with which the Museums in Bengal, particularly the Indian Museum and the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi, have made us so familiar. The birth of the Pāla school has been the subject of much discussion amongst scholars and while one school pinned its faith to the statement of the Lāmā Tārānāth that Dhiman and Bitpalo were the progenitors of the art of sculpture in Bengal in the 9th century A.D., others stoutly maintained that the beginning of this art in the cultural history of Bengal must be traced to a much earlier date. The contention of the latter group has been decisively proved by the discovery of a vigorous school of sculpture at Paharpur, the products of which are neither meagre nor doubtful. While one class of sculptures distinctly represents the traditions of the later Gupta sculpture and may thus be looked upon as provincial manifestations of the great Gupta art, another group shows a distinct original tendency, in which one may recognize the beginnings of the Bengal school, which afterwards flowered into an exuberant Pāla school. A large number of the latter class pertains to the Kṛishṇa cult which apparently loses its force in the Pāla period when the worship of Vishṇu was at its highest in Bengal. Such a large number of figures relating to the Kṛishṇa legend, though without any general sequence, would indicate that a great centre of Kṛishṇa worship—the earliest known in Eastern India—was located at Paharpur.

The find of these sculptures at the basement of the temple which must be attributed to the early Pāla emperor Dharmapāla provides one of the enigmas at Paharpur. While there is no doubt that these sculptures are entirely different from the sculptures of the time of Dharmapāla himself[1], their installation in some sort of regular manner in the angles of projections and in the middle of the walls of this temple (*cf.* Plate XXVI*c*, *d* and *e*) requires to be satisfactorily explained. The avowed religious denomination of the monument itself being Buddhist, it appears rather strange that such a vast number of

[1] *Cf.* Banerji: *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture*, Plate 1.

Brahmanical deities were installed in the walls of the temple. It must not, however, be forgotten that in Nālandā, the premier Buddhist place of the time, sculptures representing Brahmanical gods are very common. Another explanation that can be offered is that ready-made material must have offered itself near the spot in the shape of some ancient temple. This is clear from the fact that a number of older ornamentations and even images of gods (*cf.* Plate XXIX *c*) and the defaced figure of Kubera (Plate XXXVI *b*) have been found on the back and sides of some of the stone reliefs. The solution of the question largely depends upon the age that could be assigned to the vast amount of plastic material in terracotta which on the whole indicates a decidedly later tendency than the stone sculpture, but whose difference, it must be deemed, may only be the result of working in different material. The question must for the time being remain an open one, but the anomaly must be stated.

The position of the different reliefs in the basement walls is shown in the accompanying sketch plan, where the serial number of the sculpture is stated, commencing in the order of circumambulation from the main staircase. The first sculpture that meets the eye in the second angle of the north-eastern quadrant is a rectangular piece in which the north face shows the principal scene. The east face which is only 6" in breadth shows a standing female figure in a recessed panel in the middle, fringed with a border of beads with what appears to be a lotus surrounded by foliage above and two shallow curved four-petalled lotuses in the top and the bottom registers. The main scene which faces north shows a standing figure holding up with his left hand above his shoulder a small figure probably a boy (Plate XXIX *a*). Another small figure holding the handle of what appears like a plough (?) is on the left. The standing figure has the head bent so as to be almost horizontal owing to the pressure exerted by the figure held aloft. The only possible identification of the scene is the incident of Pralambāsura, a demon sent to destroy Kṛishṇa. It is stated in the Purāṇas that the demon came assuming the form of a cowherd and mixing with the comrades of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma led them aside so as to get an opportunity to carry them away. As soon as he lifted up Balarāma, he was however crushed under the weight and was killed. In the present sculpture we can recognise Balarāma in the lifted figure. The scene may thus be considered as representing two successive parts of the same incident, *viz.*, the approach and the lifting of Balarāma by the Asura. In the same angle the relief facing east (No. 2) is made of grey sandstone which is more liable to wear and tear and was apparently supplied to the less skilled artists at Paharpur. The figure which measures 2' in height and 8" in breadth is a standing figure with matted hair holding what looks like a *Kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand, the right hand being damaged (Plate XXXVII *d*). The protuberant abdomen and the mark of a *Yajñopavīta* passing diagonally over the left shoulder across the abdomen indicate that the figure may have represented Brahmā. It is noteworthy that in the Paharpur reliefs this god forming one of the Hindu Trinity is not shown with the usual four heads (*cf.* No. 51). The present figure may be compared so far as the attributes in the hands are concerned with No. 62

(Plate XXX *d*) with which it agrees except in regard to the protuberant abdomen.

Of the sculptures 3 and 4 installed in the next angle (Plate XXVI*c*), the relief facing north (No. 3) shows one of the prominent incidents of Kṛishṇa's life (Plate XXVIII *d*). The sculpture is only 1′ 7″ in height and 1′ in width and is made of buff-coloured sandstone. Kṛishṇa is here shown as a boy standing astride with his feet placed on the heads of two prostrate figures, while holding in each hand the bent upper part of the stump of a tree which stands on either border. The incident portrayed here is known as the uprooting of the two Arjuna trees (*Yamalārjuna*). The boyhood of Kṛishṇa is indicated by triple tresses of hair on the head and the peculiar torque: besides the usual ornaments such as bracelets, anklets and a diadem on the forehead, the elaborate *kuṇḍala* consisting of a broad piece of leaf (*patra-kuṇḍala*) are noteworthy. The two figures below are Nala and Kūbara who as the result of a curse were transformed into the trees that had grown in the courtyard of Nanda's palace and were liberated as soon as the trees were uprooted by Kṛishṇa, who proceeded there together with the mortar to which he had been tied down by his mother for some mischief. Sculpture No. 4 in the same angle facing east shows a standing figure in a recess between two pilasters of which the one to the right has almost disappeared (Plate XXXI *b*). It is made of buff sandstone and is 1′ 6½″ in height and 1′ 3″ in width. The pilaster to the left is curved in a slant over ¾ of its length probably owing to the irregular size of the stone. The mouldings on this pillar consist of a vase and foliage pattern on the top and bottom and a superficially carved lotus in the rectangular register in the middle, with a lotus half-medallion above. A full-blown lotus is shown above the lower vase in an unfinished register. The figure in the recess is that of Śiva characterised by the *ūrddhvaliṅga* (*penis erectus*), the bull shown in an upright crouching position to the left, the matted hair on the head and the third eye in the middle of the forehead. The object in the right hand, which is hanging is a rosary and that in the left is a long rod, probably a *triśūla*, with the upper part lost, fixed in a pedestal resembling a stone rammer. The figure is clad in a skin which appears on his right and one or two leaves seem to hang from the girdle. A long garland over the left shoulder reaching the knees and the usual necklace of beads and ear-ornaments are to be noticed. The bottom of the standing figure shows rough quarry marks which indicate that the relief was not properly finished. The entire figure was originally painted red of which traces are still to be seen in parts. In artistic quality this relief stands far behind the other Śaiva figures but it need not on this account be taken as belonging to a later date.

Sculpture No. 5 which is fixed in the long wall facing north is 1′ 6″ in height and 1 in breadth. It is made of spotted buff sandstone and shows traces of being painted red at one time. The figure of Gaṇeśa is shown as seated on a narrow pedestal in a recess on which his vehicle, the mouse, is carved in relief. The hair is shown in matted curls which are bound in a knot on the top The god holds a radish with leaves in the upper right hand, sweets in

the lower right, which he is probably going to consume with the trunk extended; the upper left hand holds together a bunch of lotuses and the lower left rests on the thigh. A band passing along the protuberant abdomen across the right leg is apparently the coiled snake. The forehead of Gaṇeśa bears a lozenge-shaped mark which undoubtedly represents the third eye. The figure is on the whole much inferior in workmanship to the other Gaṇeśa relief (No. 17, Plate XXXII *d*).

At the next corner are fixed two slabs of which the one facing north (No. 6) is made of grey sandstone. It measures 1′ 8″ × 9″ and represents a standing figure with the left knee slightly bent up (Plate XXXV *a*). In the uplifted right hand the figure held something, while the left rests on the knee. Shallow carved petals of lotus appear below and the side shows a frieze of zigzag pattern of interstices followed by four petalled lotuses. Figure No. 7 facing east shows two figures standing side by side (Plate XXXV*e*). The figure on the left appears to hold a scabbard in the left hand hanging from the waist, while that on the right apparently holds a sword. The lotus halo in the back ground may indicate that this figure is some divinity, while the other figure to the right with long curls of hair may be an attendant. It is difficult to hazard any identification. The next sculpture No. 8, appearing in the middle of the short wall facing east, is made of whitish sandstone. It measures 1′6″ in height and 9½″ in width. It represents a standing figure of a man walking to the left with one stone on the head and one in each of the uplifted hands (Plate XXXIII *b*); to the right is the half-length figure of a woman with snake-hoods over head on a platform, her head turned away from the figure. It is very likely that the scene represented here refers to the carrying of huge loads of stone for bridging the ocean in preparation for Rāma's invasion of Laṅkā with the army of monkeys. It may also represent the carrying of the mountain Kailāsa by Hanumān, for the sake of herbs growing on that hill which were urgently required for reviving Lakshmaṇa who had swooned in the battle. The figure to the left indicates a Nāginī whom Hanumān is said to have encountered in course of his flying across the ocean.

Sculpture No. 9 is in the wall facing north and is 1′ 9″ in height and 8″ in width. It represents a fine study of a night-guard on duty standing on his right leg with left tucked up and with head reclining on his hand resting on a stout club (Plate XXXV *b*). The figure is made of whitish spotted sandstone. The long curled hair falling in tresses on the forehead, shoulders and back are realistically shown. The relief is one of the best minor pieces at Paharpur and it is possible to connect this relief with the Kṛishṇa legend by taking it to be an attendant in the prison, whose lack of vigilance enabled Vasudeva to remove the child born in prison. The last figure in the north-east quadrant, No. 10, stands on the same wall and measures 1′ 10″ in height and 8″ in width and is made of mottled sandstone. It represents a dancing woman standing to the right with the left hand over the head and right resting on the shoulder. The right leg is placed horizontally and the left just touches the ground after crossing the right, the two together making an almost complete *svastika*. The figure

is much worn out and it appears that it was intended to portray a mode of dancing.

At the northern end of the main eastern wall there are two sculptures at the corner, of which the one facing north, No. 11, is in whitish sandstone. It measures 1′ 8″ in height and 11 in width. The side is marked by the usual shallow lotus pattern design. The principal figures—a human couple—are drawn in relief standing over double lotus seats (Plate XXXVII *b*). The male figure standing with the right arm advanced and the left leg bent, with the tip touching the ground, has put his left arm around the body of the female and brought it up against her breast; with the right hand he touches her on the chin as in the sculpture representing Hara-Gaurī (Plate LVIII*a*). The female figure has her left arm at a dish containing some object which is borne by a dwarf attendant figure with uplifted hands, while her right arm rests on the shoulder of the male figure. There is no special distinctive mark as the halo at the back, in the absence of which the figure is to be considered as a *mithuna* (couple) so often found in the exterior part of the temple. The relief facing east (No. 12) in the same angle, measuring 1′ 9″ in height and 1′ 2½″ in width, is made of whitish sandstone. It shows four figures of which two standing to the left may be considered the principal figures. Of these, the figure to the right holds by the hair another figure kneeling below at the right-hand corner and there is an on-looker above, with long locks of hair as found in the case of the night-guard (Plate XXXVI *c*). The presence of a halo on the head of the central figure and the club in the hand of the left figure would seem to indicate that they are intended to represent Kṛishṇa and Balarāma respectively at the assembly of Kaṁsa where the latter was dragged by the hair and killed by Kṛishṇa.

No. 13 is the first sculpture that strikes the eyes of the visitor as one approaches the monument from east. It is in the east wall and measures 1′ 7″ in height and 3′ 2″ in width and is of the darker and harder variety of sandstone. No attempt at preserving the symmetry of the side decorative pilasters is maintained in this piece as we find in the case of other sculptures on the south-east. The ornamental pilaster on the extreme left shows in the bottom register a vase with foliage flanked by two half-cut figures of dwarfs on the side. The upper register shows a *Kīrtimukha* flanked by two half-cut faces of centaurs and the semicircular medallion above the next pilaster which is cut from the main relief shows a vertical band of scroll-work; the jamb nearest the main relief shows the graceful figure of an attendant in a niche and a fragmentary figure of a centaur in the middle. The main figure of the scene is Śiva standing left holding the handle of an umbrella of peacock feathers (*mayūra-chhatra*) with his right hand (Plate XXXI *c*). The main distinctive mark of Śiva is of course the *Ūrddhvaliṅga*, but the *mayūra-chhatra* is also considered a distinctive attribute particularly in Cambodian representations. An armlet made up of a cobra wound round the arm, the matted hair and the presence of two dwarf attendants (*Gaṇas*) flanking Śiva on either side, the one on the right holding a musical instrument, are other distinctive marks. The first female figure to the right holds a cup in her left hand and the right is in the attitude of

offering something to Śiva. Besides the usual ornaments such as a necklace, bracelets, anklets, etc., the figure has a fillet (*kucha-bandha*) round the breasts. The next female figure to the right holds her arms above the head and a small figure clasps her at the waist. Behind her is an emaciated figure in whom we may recognise Bhṛiṅgī, the faithful devotee of Śiva. Lastly, at the right margin we notice the figures of Kūshmāṇḍa, the ascetic who is being carried by another figure. The entourage of Śiva in the present relief is generally not found elsewhere and it is likely that the scene here depicted is one never portrayed before in any sculpture. A likely identification is the incident in which Śiva is offered the cup of poison churned out of the milk-ocean by the earth-goddess at the instance of other gods. The first female figure to Śiva's left should in this case be considered as the goddess in question, and the other female as Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, who is apparently distressed at the idea of the god taking poison. Sculpture No. 14 which is preserved in the same wall measures 2′ 4″ in height and 1′ 3″ in width. The niche in which it is fixed is recessed 6″ behind the wall and the interstices on either side at the top are filled up with bricks. The male figure on the right stands with the left hand on the breast of the female and the right round her neck. The female figure stands left with her left leg slightly turned away and her left arm round the neck of the man, the end of the right hand being indistinct. The drapery of both the figures reaches the ankles which is rather unusual (Plate XXXVII *a*); the hair of the male figure is done in ringlets which fall in short curls on his shoulder and the *kuṇḍalas* in his ear-lobes are of two kinds. The large cylindrical ornament on the left ear of the female figure is worth noting. Both the figures wear chain girdles with a flower-clasp in front.

At the end of the east-wall are sculptures 15 and 16. The male figure facing east represents a standing figure holding a bunch in the left hand and with the right hand laid on the waist. This figure measures 1′ 9″ in height and 9″ in width, and is made of buff-coloured sandstone. Two plantain trees flank the figure on either side. The bead ornament on the fringe and the bold but shallow lotus leaf border at the bottom are characteristic of inferior workmanship. The next relief (No. 16) facing south measures 1′ 9″ in height and 8″ width and is made of white-coloured sandstone. It represents an amorous couple standing in close proximity with arms round each other, the neck and legs also being parallel to each other. On the side of the sculpture occurs the zigzag pattern with the intervening space filled up by lotus medallions, the work being characteristic of the cruder type.

No. 17, which stands in the next wall facing south, is a representation of Gaṇeśa (Plate XXXII *d*). The sculpture is of grey-coloured sandstone of which the skin appears to be peeling off. It measures 1′ 9″ in height and 2′ 3″ in width. Gaṇeśa is here represented as a seated figure with four hands, of which the upper left holds a trident, the lower left a snake which has coiled itself round the body, forming as it were a sacred thread (Skt. *Vyāla-Yajnopavīta*); the upper right holds a bunch of leaves and the lower right a rosary. On the pedestal is to be seen a crude representation of the mouse, the vehicle

of the god, scribbled in superficial line. A comparison of this representation of Gaṇeśa with others both in stone and terracotta would reveal a number of points of difference. Thus, the *Pāśa* and *Aṁkuśa*, which are characteristic of Gaṇeśa in one of the *Dhyānas*, are found in a terracotta representation on the first terrace verandah on the south-west and the eatables shown in relief No. 5, which is a much cruder representation than the present one, are also not to be seen in the present.

Between the figures 17 and 18 there appears in the main wall a gap which was later on filled up with loose bricks. The face of the main wall here recedes to the depth of 3′ 1″ and there are three steps, each 8½″ to 9½″ in breadth. There is no special mark of any image or a niche on the top of the last step as the height is only 2′ 9″ at the back. The only purpose which this recess in the main wall could have served is that of occasional shelter to those who would circumambulate the temple.

Sculpture No. 18 is a representation of a Vidyādhara and measures 1′ 6″ in height and 10½″ in width. It is made of white sandstone but is a better executed piece than others in this material. The figure is shown as flying from a double lotus seat with the left foot tucked up and both the legs covered by lotus leaf leg-covers or boots, as are generally shown in figures of the Sun-god and his attendants (Plate XXXIV *d*). The Vidyādhara holds a garland or streamer in his hands. He wears all ornaments and has ringlets of hair bordering on the face.

The next relief (No. 19), which is in the wall facing east, is 1′ 7″ in height and 11″ in width and is fixed in a niche 1′ 11″ high, bricks being laid in courses to make up the rest of the height and the interstices at the left corner. It represents the well-known theme of Kṛishṇa holding the mount Govardhana on his finger (Plate XXVIII *c*). In contrast with other sculptures representing this theme from Mathurā, Kṛishṇa is here shown as supporting the bottom of the mountain with his right hand and uplifting it in the centre with a finger of his left hand. Of his lower two hands, the left is shown as resting on the shoulder of his male attendant and the right on the breast of a female figure to his right. The former holds a staff in the hand and the latter a drum. These two figures no doubt represent the denizens of Gokula who were saved by Kṛishṇa from the torrential rains sent down by Indra, by lifting the mountain Govardhana. The art of this sculpture is not of a high order. In the representation of the mountain snakes and irregular stones depicting rocks may be noticed.

At the corner of the first angle on the south-east side occur Nos. 20 and 21. The first measures 1′ 8″ in height and 10″ in breadth. The sculpture is of buff sandstone. Of the two figures, both of whom are standing, the left one has matted hair and holds something in right hand, while the left is holding a rod on the thigh. The figure on the right has curling hair and ornaments on the body. The object held in the right hand cannot be made out while the left rests on the thigh. No. 21 is the next figure facing south and is made of the same grey sandstone. It measures 1′ 11″ in height and 1 in width and shows two standing figures with a big halo carved in the

background. Both the figures appear to have equine faces (Plate XXXVII *c*) which are turned towards each other. The hair of both the figures are drawn with curls falling on the shoulders and each has a necklace. The left figure has the right hand in the gesture known as *vitarkamudrā* and the left is akimbo. The right figure holds some indistinct object in the right hand. The heads of both the figures however have been damaged.

The long wall facing south in the second angle on the south-east contains some of the most important sculptures of the Krishṇa cult. The builders apparently paid special attention to these figures as they have been finely executed and sheltered in recesses embellished with lotus-leaf pattern bricks. The sequence of the figures leads to the conclusion that No. 22 is a figure intended to represent Krishṇa and Rādhā (Plate XXVII*c*). This is the very first representation of this divine pair. Although the earliest mention of Rādhā is to be found in Hāla's *Saptaśatī*—a work assigned to the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the association of Rādhā with the divine cowherd, which is a special feature of late Vaishnavism of Bengal, is not found in any of the earlier Purāṇa texts. Doubts have, therefore, been naturally raised against the identification, but the presence of the next two sculptures (Nos. 23 and 24) representing Yamunā and Balarāma respectively. (Plate XXVII*a* and *b*) raise the strong presumption that the divine pair is associated with Balarāma and the river Yamunā—the scene of Krishṇa's early activity. It cannot also be said that the female here represents one of the Gopīs or cowherdesses with whom boy Krishṇa sported, for the halo behind the head indicates for certain that the female was of a divine character. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that this sculpture was meant to represent Krishṇa and Rādhā, the latter being the only female associated with Krishṇa, for whom he showed a special preference owing to her heavenly character. The ***Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*** in which the Rādhā legend occurs for the first time is undoubtedly later than the 7th century, to which the sculpture is to be attributed. But it is likely that the beginning of this cult is to be traced to Bengal, the province where the future developments and ramifications of this doctrine were destined to occur in the song rhapsodies of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* and in the ecstatic devotion of the Vaishṇava saints from Chaitanya onwards. The sculpture which is in grey sandstone is 2′ 7″ in height and 2′ 8″ in width together with a border composed of lotus, bead and half-lotus medallions separated by punched zigzag lines. The main stone contains the two figures and the jambs on the left side, the right jamb being composed of 3 separate stones. The figure of Krishṇa stands cross-legged with his right hand round the neck of Rādhā and the left in the attitude of protection with the fingers pointing upwards. The figure, well proportioned in the body, has short ringlets of hair on the head and is dressed in a loin cloth reaching to the knees and a scarf on the upper part of the body. The face being now worn out, the expression cannot be ascertained. The female figure has her left arm round the neck of Krishṇa, while the right points below with all fingers. Probably the mystic significance of the attitude of the hands of the pair is that of the union of heaven and earth.

The close fitting garments of both the figures are shown in wavy folds in an artistic manner.

Fig. 23 is a representation of the river Yamunā, carved out of basalt, 2′ 6″ in height and 1′ 6″ in width. She is depicted on her vehicle, the tortoise, with right hand touching a lotus on which a pair of geese is standing (Plate XXVII *a*). A similar lotus stands also on the left, both issuing out of a lotus plant in the background of which two stalks are to be seen. In the left hand the goddess holds a bunch of flowers or a lotus. Of her attendants, both standing on crabs, the one to the left (a male) holds an umbrella over the head of the goddess and the female to the right holds a casket of flowers. The ornaments and drapery of the goddess are depicted in a very elegant manner, the folds of the garment being particularly well-drawn. The delineation of the attendants, particularly the female figure, is also very graceful. The lower part of the male attendant appears to have been fashioned out of sandstone and the size of the foot is rather out of proportion to the rest of the body. The present relief is probably the first example in which the goddess Yamunā is shown without her companion, the river goddess Gangā; but it is possible that among the representations of *Kṛishṇa-charita* there was hardly any room for the delineation of the Ganges.

The last figure in this wall is an image of Balarāma (No. 24), the elder brother of Kṛishṇa (Plate XXVII *b*). The sandstone of which this figure is made is of a more durable variety than the other two. The height of the figure is 2′ 8″ and width 1′ 5″. The six-hooded snake, appearing behind the head of the figure, indicates that Balarāma was looked upon as an incarnation of Vishṇu, canopied by the snake-god Śesha. Of the four hands, the upper left holds a plough, the upper right a mace—in the exercise of which Balarāma excelled; while the lower right carries a drinking cup in which the female attendant to the right is about to pour wine from a handled jug. Balarāma is known to be particularly addicted to liquor in which the Yādava fraternity is described to have met its doom. Ornaments shown on the figure of Balarāma are characteristic of the late Gupta tradition to which this sculpture belongs. The *kuṇḍalas* in the ears are of different design, one being apparently of the conch-shell bangle and the other of the *Makara-Kuṇḍala* type. The band round the abdomen (*udara-bandha*) just above the navel and the waist-band (*kaṭi-bandha*) are noticeable, as also the sacred thread worn around the shoulder (*yajñopavīta*). The male attendant to the left of the god holds something like a short dagger in his left hand and a bunch of flowers in his right. The happy expression on the face of the god with somewhat gaping eyes is characteristic of the period, as also the knee joint.

The next figure of basalt, 1′ 5″ in height and 10″ in width (No. 25), on the short wall facing east, is that of a female in one of the attitudes prescribed in Indian works on dancing, the left hand being raised up and the right bent gracefully to the left, which is known as the *Kari-hasta* pose (Plate XXXIV *a*). This is a celestial dancer described[1] by Dr. St. Kramrisch in the following manner, which fully brings out the artistic significance.—" On a double lotus, at a moment of whirling and just before rising again, the dancer—with forcefully

[1] *Indian Sculpture*, pp. 182-3.

bent knees, the weight on the left foot, the right arm thrown across the body, the left shoulder and the left arm raised, the head bent and turned towards the right in the direction of the whirling movement, with the palm of the right hand turned outwards and the left with the palm inward, loosely pending, from the bent forearm—holds a jewelled band, twined across the arms. The fluttering ends of the garment to either side of the figure intensify the movement, as does also the mass of hair coiled up and resting against the left shoulder. Simple and heavy jewellery, a long *dhoti*, with a raised pattern of 'folds', full of the vigour of the movement, and a pleated and tassel-like arrangement tucked into and hanging in front of the *dhoti*, complete the simple and bold accessories. They surround a body of intensely restrained plasticity, itself formed, as it were, by the dancing movement. The same holds good for the large-featured face. The eyes are enamoured with and swim like fishes in the movement of the dance and composition which makes the lips so blissfully relaxed. The entire composition and the entire figure are borne by dance."

No. 26 at the second corner of the south-eastern side facing east is 1 5" in height and only 7" in width, and is made of grey sandstone having the usual vertical band of lotus flowers on the side. Here the lotuses are eight-petalled and carved more deeply than in the other specimen. The main relief depicts a standing figure with curly hair, left arm akimbo and the right arm turned towards a small figure crouching on the left apparently in the attitude of supplication. Relief No. 27 facing south is 1′ 5" in height and 7" in width. It shows a standing figure with both hands resting on a club. The hair of the figure is treated in curls and the face is flat. Apparently we have here another representation of a guard or door-keeper.

No. 28 stands in the middle of the next wall facing south. It is 1′ 7" in height and 6" in width and made of grey sandstone. It depicts the figure of a woman, probably a dancer, standing with her legs crossing each other and the hands held up to hold or support some object above the head, possibly a long tray (Plate XXIX *d*). The usual ornaments, necklace, armlets, bracelets, girdle and anklets are shown.

In the next long wall facing east there are three sculptures all showing a high standard of artistic achievement and all undoubtedly connected with the cult of Kṛishṇa. The first (No. 29) is the figure of god Indra (2′ 6" in height and 1′ 10" in width). The material of this is coarse grey sandstone which has well withstood the effects of time. Indra is here depicted with two arms, a halo behind the head, hair flowing in curls on his shoulders and holding in his right hand a small object, which, if a Vajra, is quite unlike its representation elsewhere (Plate XXVII *d*). A necklace consisting of three strings of pearls adorns the neck; while other ornaments, such as the bands round the abdomen and waist are noticeable. A third eye is shown on the forehead which is a peculiar feature of this figure. The only indication of the identity is the elephant Airāvata shown as standing behind the god. The relief is made up of two pieces. the left piece depicting the whole figure, while the right one the tail of the elephant and the details of the border. The hand is subjected to

the process of foreshortening. The sculpture is somewhat stiff but vigorous and the face of the god is lit up with a broad smile. The figure of Indra must have been introduced on account of his connection with the Kṛishṇa legend in the well-known Govardhana episode after which Indra is said to have crowned Kṛishṇa or may have been fixed there as the guardian of the eastern quarter in which direction the sculpture faces.

Relief No. 30 is one of the most vigorous examples of Bengal art representing an important incident of Kṛishṇa's life, namely, the killing of the demon Dhenuka or Keśin (Plate XXVIII *a*). The material is sandstone of the harder variety and the sculpture measures 2′ 8″ in height and 1 5″ in width. The incident[1] depicted here has been found in the sculptures of Badami[2] which should be roughly contemporary or possibly a little earlier than the Paharpur sculptures, the latter being undoubtedly more spirited and life-like. The story relates the encounter of the two brothers, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, with the Asura, Dhenuka, in a *Tāla* grove. The brothers had entered the grove to take the fruit from the trees for their companions and the Asura hearing the sound of the falling of *Tāla* fruit rushed towards them. In this relief we find a plantain tree to the left of the figure and a tree which appears to be a Kadamba to the right behind the demon in the form of an ass. In the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Balarāma is mentioned as having attacked the demon and killed him. In others, namely the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Vishṇupurāṇa* and *Brahmapurāṇa*, it is Kṛishṇa who attacked the ass infesting the palm grove. It is probable that the latter version is followed in the Paharpur representation, as it is natural that if there be one figure it must be that of the boy Kṛishṇa. The youthful figure of Kṛishṇa is shown as standing with the left foot over the demon, the right hand turned up to deal a blow at the Asura who has already seized his left arm. The dress and ornaments of Kṛishṇa are those befitting a boy, among which may be mentioned the three tufts of hair on the crown, which from their resemblance to the lateral tufts of the crow's wings are properly described as *Kākapaksha* in Sanskrit literature. The torque with medallions peculiar to young children shown round the neck of Kṛishṇa is still seen in several parts of India. The loins are girded up with the upper garment (*uttarīya*), the hem of which is prominently shown. It is noteworthy that in order to balance the plantain tree on the left the builders introduced a similar improvised tree in terracotta on the right. This shows that the relief came to the hands of the builders ready-made and they had no means of making any addition in the same material. Traces of red paint are to be clearly seen on this sculpture.

No. 31 (height 2′ 1″ and width 2′) is a relief in bluish basalt which has undergone deterioration. The representation is that of brothers Kṛishṇa and Balarāma engaged in a wrestling combat with Chāṇūra and Mushṭika (Plate XXVIII *b*), the two wrestlers sent down by Kaṁsa to fight and, if possible, to destroy the two brothers. The dress and ornamentations of the two brothers

[1] Recently Mr. Sarasi K. Sarasvati has tried to prove that this sculpture represents the killing of Keśin, the horse (*Ind. Culture*, July 1936, p. 195).

[2] *M. A. S. I.* No. 25, *Basreliefs of Badami* p. 28.

are similar to those of the preceding relief thus indicating the youthful nature of these combatants. On the right Kṛishṇa is engaged in bringing the wrestler Chāṇūra down and has already uplifted him with a view to throw him down. The other figure is Balarāma holding the hand of the wrestler Mushṭika. The relief was originally finished in two separate stones, the horizontal cleavage being apparent; in the lower stone occurs a band depicted with lotus flowers which are treated more vigorously than in the superficial work found on most of the corner reliefs.

At the corner of the third angle in the south-east side sculpture No. 32, 1′ 8″×10,″ facing east, consists of a badly worn out piece in which two figures are standing side by side. The right one is possibly a female figure as the left hand of the figure to the other side seems to pass round the neck of the former. Owing however to the bad preservation of this stone it is not easy to make out any details. On the side of this piece zigzag lines with lotus medallion ornamentation are carved in vertical bands.

Sculpture No. 33 in the same angle facing south is made of dark coloured sandstone. Figures in this angle measure 1′ 8″ in height and 10″ in breadth. It shows a damaged figure of a man with curled hair to right holding some large sized object with left hand; at the lower end, to right, a woman is shown seated facing the standing figure; on the upper border occur thinly incised lotuses. The standing figure may possibly represent Rāvaṇa approaching Sītā, but the identification is not certain.

In the long wall facing east of the fourth angle stands the figure of Agni within a specially prepared recess with lotus-leaf decoration on the sides. This sculpture (No. 34) is made of greyish buff sandstone and is 2′ 9″ in height and 1′ 1″ in width. The top edge of the stone, which is 3½″ in relief from the back slab, is carved with shallow lotus pattern band and beaded border with a flat pointed arch over the figur Agni (Plate XXXII *b*) is shown standing with seven flames rising up on either side in the back-ground. Similar flames are also shown in an Indian Museum image of Agni, dating from the 9th century A.D. with a rosary and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the hands. The damaged condition of the face does not show whether there was a third eye in the forehead but the matted head-dress (*jaṭājūṭa*) is clear. In the right hand, which is lifted up to the shoulder, Agni holds a rosary and in the left a cylindrical object probably a *kamaṇḍalu*, which according to the Purāṇas, form his attributes. To the left occurs a kneeling worshipper and to the right some uncertain figure, defaced. Agni wears the lower and upper garments and has all the usual ornaments—a torque on the breast, ear-ornaments and a girdle (*mekhalā*). The figure of the animal, which was Agni's vehicle, has been badly damaged and admits of no identification. In other known specimens in the British and Lucknow Museums however Agni is provided with a goat as a vehicle quite in keeping with the account of the deity in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. It is curious to note that the Indian Museum image has a ram (*mēsha*) as his vehicle.[1] The figure has been apparently placed in the south-east corner, as Agni is the guardian

[1] *cf. Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, p. 228 ff.

of that quarter, but the Vedic conception about Agni having two heads, seven hands, three legs, etc., is quite out of place with this representation which appears to be based on Purāṇic texts such as *Vishṇu-dharmottara* and *Āditya Purāṇa.*

Nos. 35 and 36 stand at the eastern end of the main south wall. Of these, No. 35 made of whitish sandstone, which shows signs of wear and tear, measures 1′ 8″ in height and 10½″ in width and shows two figures standing with crossed legs. The one on the left holds a sword (?) in the right hand; the other figure, which, wears a *jaṭāmukuṭā* holds a child (?) in the left hand. (Plate XXXVI *d*). The side of the sculpture is ornamented with a vertical band of lotuses as containing eight or more petals. Sculpture No. 36 is made of dark coloured sandstone and is 1′ 8″ in height and 8½″ in width. It represents a standing figure facing left with long curly hair falling over the shoulder and with both hands resting on a club; apparently this is a figure of a *dvārapāla* or guard.

The first relief (No. 37) fixed in the main south wall is made of basalt (height 2′ 5″, width 2′ 3½″) which shows signs of peeling off on the surface. Śiva is here shown as a standing naked ascetic having matted hair on the head (*jaṭāmukuṭa*), a third eye on the forehead, a rosary in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left (Plate XXXI *d*). The ornaments include a pair of serpentine ear-rings (*sarpakuṇḍala*), a necklace of pearls with a central bead and a *muñja* girdle at the waist. The *ūrddhvaliṅga* (*penis erectus*) is a feature associated with Śiva denoting his celebacy. The left jamb of the recess in which this relief has been fixed has been supplied in terracotta with a close imitation of the floral design in stone on the right jamb.

Padmapāṇi (No. 38) stands in the middle of the south side and is made of buff sandstone of which the height is 2′ and the breadth 1′ 1½″.. The style of the sculpture with the semi-circular top of the back slab and the conventionalised flames fringing the border show a slight advance in style over the other specimens found at Paharpur and must be attributed to the 8th-9th century A.D. (Plate XXXIV *c*). The lotus halo at the back and the beaded border beyond have more affinities with the inferior or local specimens. The hands and face of the figure are much mutilated, probably at the hands of invaders. The two attendants by the side, whose features are defaced, stand on separate lotus seats—the one to the left being a woman and that to the right a man apparently looking up to the Bodhisattva. The lotus in the right back-ground is the only means of identification of this figure.

It is abundantly clear that this, the only undoubted Buddhist image among the reliefs fixed in the basement wall of the Paharpur temple, was held in special esteem by the congregation at this place. There is a masonry *kuṇḍa* or sacred water reservoir in front of the image (Plate XI *c*) and immediately to the right of the figure, a wall is built against the basement of the temple. It is likely that the damage to which this figure has been subjected is due to its being singled out for ill-treatment by invaders of an antagonistic faith. Considering the growing antipathy between the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths in the later Pāla period, it is possible that the armies from Southern Bengal who

carried fire and sword at the Somapura monastery may have been responsible for this damage.

Sculpture No. 39 in the south wall is the figure of Yama, the god of death, who has been properly fixed on the south as the guardian of that quarter. The material is sandstone and the figure measures 2′ 8″ in height and 1′ 4″ in width (Plate XXXII*a*). The place of the half round brick course above the image of Yama is here taken by a stone, now broken into two, which has actually been cut to simulate the shape of the bricks. The sculpture is made up of two stones, the top portion including a part of the noose held by the god. The god is shown as standing in *samapada* attitude holding a *pāśa* in his hands which passes round the head like an aureole with the loose end fluttering on either side like the end of the upper scarf. He is dressed in a garment reaching to the knees and wears a necklace, two kinds of ear-ornaments, armlets, bracelets, a girdle clasped with a rosette in front and a fillet over the forehead on the top of which are curled hair. A male attendant to the right has dress similar to the god and also a *pāśa* in his right hand and a female attendant to the left holds similarly a *pāśa* with the left hand, while the other end of the *pāśa* passes over the shoulder like a scarf. In fact, if the *pāśa* in the hand of Yama had not been shown right over the head, it would have been mistaken as a scarf. The sides of the upper end of the slab are carved with lozenge and lotus ornamentations in low relief.

At the western end of the south wall appear two sculptures both in buff grey sandstone much liable to wear. No. 40 is a relief in sandstone representing Śiva (height 2′ 6″, width 1′ 9″). The attitude and attributes are, however, different from those of No. 37. Here the snake is shown as coiling round the neck of Śiva, who holds with the left hand the long handle of the trident, while his right hand is in the *varada* or boon-bestowing attitude (Plate XXXI*a*). The border is decorated with the check or chess-board pattern which is characteristic of late Gupta work.

Sculpture No. 41 facing south is in purple-coloured sandstone which is much worn out. It is 1′ 7″ in height and 8″ in width. It shows an archer facing right with his bow turned towards the head. At the top end there appears a compartment in which there is another bowman who has taken up the regular *ālīḍha* position and it is likely that he was struck by a vertical object possibly an arrow. A small attendant figure appears at the lower right end of the relief.

Sculpture No. 42 facing west is in purple coloured sandstone and is 1′ 7″ in height and 8½″ in width. It represents a heavy standing figure facing front with broad face and long hair possibly intended to represent an Asura. In his uplifted right hand he holds something like a hammer.

At the corner of the next angle, relief No. 43 facing south is made of whitish sandstone and measures 1′ 7½″ in length and 8″ in width. Apparently this is a representation of Brahmā as can be made out from three heads, matted hair, protuberant abdomen, *kamaṇḍalu* in left, hand and rosary in right, crudely drawn, and the short and plumpy legs. The side of the slab is ornamented with the usual zigzag line and lotus medallion. The next relief (No. 44), which faces

west, is also of grey sandstone and measures 1′ 7″ in height and 10″ in width. It shows two standing figures, of which the left is a female figure who holds a pot in the right hand and supports with her left a pile of vessels held on the head. The figure on the right, which is much worn out, is apparently a boy (? Kṛishṇa), who has the right arm round the body of the woman against her breast, while the right leg is also coiled round her thigh (this leg is quite different from the other placed on the ground): apparently the incident refers to the amours of the boy Kṛishṇa with the cowherdesses of Gokula.

Relief Nos. 45 and 46 stand at the corner of the second angle of the south-west side. Of the two, No. 45, which faces south, measures 1′ 8″ in height and 8½″ in width and is made of reddish sandstone. It shows in relief the figure of a man holding a child in his hands (Plate XXIX*b*). The figure is shown with long hair having no ornament and apparently to be identified with Vasudeva carrying the new-born Kṛishṇa to Gokula. No. 46 facing west is of dark basalt and measures 1′ 8″ in height and 9″ in width. It shows in high relief the figure of a boy standing with head turned slightly to the left, the left hand resting over the waist and the right holding a lump of probably butter, close to his breast (Plate XXXV*d*). The hair on the head does not show the usual three tufts but streams of ringlets; the conical beads of the necklace make the identification of the figure with the boy Kṛishṇa almost certain.

In the long wall facing south (angle 3) is fixed No. 47, which is 1′ 8″ in height and 7″ in width. It is made of buff grey basalt. The fringe of beads on either side of the slab is not drawn in a line and the slab tapers towards the top. The relief represents a standing musician holding a lyre of which the broad end is held in the right and the curved end with the left. The figure has long hair, a garment with vertical stripes reaching to the knees and a necklace.

Relief No. 48 measures 1′ 7″ in height and 1′ in width and is made of much withered dark grey sandstone. It shows a man being roughly handled by two figures, one on each side, whose necklace and hair show that they are represented as boys (Plate XXIX*c*). They are shown as seizing with both their hands each of the hands of the central figure while placing one of their feet over his. The identification is not certain but it is very likely that it depicts one of the exploits of Kṛishṇa. This has apparently been taken out from an older temple as the side which was exposed, when it was taken out of position showed the part of a bare *kīrtimukha* face and the lotus and vase decoration below (Plate XXIX*e*).

Relief Nos. 49 and 50 are fixed at the corner of the angle No. 4 and are made of sandstone. The sculpture facing south (1′ 8″ in height and 10½″ in width) contains two figures, standing side by side; of which the one to the left holds a bow round his arm and the one on the right holds a bow in his left and both probably a pack of arrows in the other hand. They may represent the brothers Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. No. 50 facing west is 1′ 8″ in height and 8″ in width and shows a standing figure with well-carved lotus halo behind the head which indicates that it is a divine figure. In the absence, however, of any clear object in the hands, the right being shown against the thigh and the left



near the abdomen no identification is possible. There is a kneeling figure at the left bottom corner. Perhaps the figure represents a Bodhisattva.

In the wall facing west we meet with relief No. 51 in the fourth angle. It is of whitish sandstone and 1′ 4″ in height and 10″ in width. It has two standing figures, the right one being that of a bearded sage with high matted hair approaching the figure to the left (Plate XXXV*c*). The latter stands with both of his hands on thigh probably listening to the bearded figure. If the figure is to be referred to the Kṛishṇa legend it is likely that it represents the meeting of sage Garga with Nanda, when the former communicated the prophesy about the child Kṛishṇa.

No. 52 stands in the middle of the adjoining long wall facing south. It is 1′ 5″ in height and 11″ in width, and of dark grey sandstone. On the right we see the figure of a woman standing under a tree holding a branch with her hands. There is another tree to the left against which a male figure is standing with the fingers of the right hand placed against the mouth as if in wonder. The legs of both the figures are shown as crossing each other. Midway between the two figures appears the figure of a child as if it were dancing, whose right leg is tossed about touching the woman's leg (Plate XXXIV*b*). If this figure is to be taken as a new-born child, the relief may represent the birth of Buddha in the *Sāla* garden at Lumbinī; but in the absence of any clear evidence it is difficult to hazard an identification.

At the southern end of the main western wall stands sculpture No. 53, which is not accompanied, as usual, by another relief facing south. It is made of buff sandstone and measures 1′ 6½″ in height and 8½″ in width. It shows a standing figure with left arm akimbo and right raised up but indistinct. There is a small figure at the lower left hand corner. The traces of a lotus halo in the back-ground may indicate that the figure is some divine personage.

In the same wall is fixed sculpture No. 54, measuring 1′ 8½″ in height and 11″ in width. It is of whitish grey sandstone and represents a divine figure on the right holding a bow, being held up on the arms of a standing figure (defaced). The figure to the left also holds a bow, which crosses that of his opponent, and seems to be seated in a chariot with two front wheels. A third figure with its head between the hands and bowing low on the chariot is likely to be a female figure from the way in which the hair is dressed at the back of the head (Plate XXXIIIc). The most probable identification of the scene is the incident described in the Mahābhārata. It is said that in course of carrying away Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛishṇa, in his chariot by Arjuna, there was a semblance of fight between Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, the two eternal friends. This incident showing the two in a different attitude than the usual one must have been considered as a proper theme for representation in sculpture. The figure of Arjuna is also shown with a halo but it is smaller than that of Kṛishṇa.

No. 55 also fixed in the west wall is in dark sandstone, measuring 1′ 7″ in height and 12½″ in width. It represents a scene in which two monkeys

are shown fighting with each other, the left figure having put on a long garland of flowers in addition to torque and ear-ornaments (Plate XXXIII*a*). In the *Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is stated that in the fight between the two brothers Vālin and Sugrīva, Rāma promised to help Sugrīva and advised him to put on a garland as a distinctive mark so that he may not strike him by mistake. The figure on the right is undoubtedly Vālin who is apparently embracing Tārā with his left hand. She was really the bone of contention between the two brothers. The fourth figure with its hands and head bent in the fore-ground may represent Aṅgada, the young son of Vālin, who was ultimately reconciled to his uncle and Rāma.

Relief Nos. 56 and 57 are fixed in the north end of the west wall. Of these, No. 56 is very worn out, measuring 1′ 7″ in height and 1′ 2″ in width and is made of grey sandstone. The figure to the left appears to be seated in a chariot and is fighting with another figure to right which is probably a bird with outspread wings. This may represent Rāvaṇa's fight with Jaṭāyu. On the side are bold cut four-petalled flowers and the figure of an attendant holding a rod. The figure No. 57 facing north is of dark grey basalt, measuring 1′ 6½″ in height and 10″ in width. It is a three-headed standing figure with long hair and with left arm holding a sword or some weapon and the right placed above what looks like a semi-circular hillock, underneath which appears the figure of a woman seated with some offering in both of her hands resting over knee (Plate XXXVI*a*). A vase appears behind the woman and a flying Gandharva in the upper left corner. It is not possible to identify the scene.

Nos. 58 and 59 in the next corner of angle one (Plate XXVI*d*) are made of buff sandstone. The figure facing west measures 1′ 7″ in height and 10½″ in width. It shows a woman standing with her legs across and holding something in her right hand; two young figures are standing lower on either side (Plate XXVI*d*). The sculpture to north is 1′ 7″ in height and 1′ in breadth and is of buff sandstone. It has two standing figures both of which have ringlets of hair, the right one having a beard. The left figure holds the other by the chin with his left hand and has some weapon in the uplifted right hand. The figure on the right holds a sword or weapon over the head in his left hand. A third prostrate figure peeps through the legs of the left figure. The incident is undoubtedly one referring to a fight between Asuras (Plate XXXVI*e*) such as that between Sunda and Upasunda. It is noteworthy that at the back of this is a defaced figure of Kubera, the god of wealth and the Lord of the North (Plate XXXVI*b*), which probably belonged to the same series of the 'Lords of the Quarters' as the Indra, Agni and Yama figures. It is likely that while the other figures being in excellent preservation were re-fixed in the Paharpur temple, the Kubera figure being damaged was rejected and the stone utilized for a fresh figure. The work, however, seems to have been left in the hands of one of the inferior class of artisans and the contrast between the workmanship of the two (Plate XXXVI *b* and *e*) is striking.

The figure in the next angle (No. 60), which is of black basalt, measuring 2′ 9″ in height and 1′ 2″ in width, represents a form of Śiva. The god is standing

in *samapada* attitude between two plantain trees with matted hair falling in curls on either shoulder. He has the crescent moon over head, a rosary in right and vase in left hand (Plate XXX*b*). He is depicted fully clad with the hem of garment appearing over the left shoulder and above both the ankles; a *mekhalā* or girdle made of *muñja* grass over the waist is tied in a knot in front. The side of the figure, which is carved with lotus at the top and square floral medallion in the centre and bottom, has notches in the side, suggesting that once it was fitted to another piece.

The figure facing north (No. 61) is made of dark basalt and measures 2′ 11″ in height and 1′ 2″ in width. It is an image with a high matted headdress, in *samapada* attitude, with a garment and girdle, similar to the preceding one (No. 60). The rosary or *akshamālā* in the right hand and the manuscript in the left hand leave no doubt that the figure is to be identified with Brahmā (Plate XXX*c*). A worshipper with folded hands occurs in the left hand corner and the top of the slab is curved so as to form an arched band with floral decoration over the god. There are traces of red paint on the image.

Relief Nos. 62 and 63 are standing figures both of Śiva. No. 62 measures 2′ 8″ in height and 1′ 1″ in width while No. 63 measures 2′ 8″ in height and 11″ in width. The figure facing west is made of purple sandstone, stands gracefully with a slight curve of the body to the right, and is clad in a garment worn just below the navel and reaching down to the ankles (Plate XXX*d*). Śiva holds a rosary in the right hand held in the attitude of protection and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left; the hair is drawn up in matted form and falls on either side in long curls. The sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) has crossed knots at regular interval and the *mekhalā* or girdle is shown with a knot in front. The side of this slab shows lotus decoration on the top and a long band of lotus plant with leaves, buds, etc., not found in any other piece. A part of the slab is cut into a semicircular arch over the head of Śiva which bears floral decoration. There is an attendant at the left lower corner and a small plantain tree on the right.

The last figure in the series (No. 63) is that of Śiva (height 2′ 8,″ width 11″) and is of buff grey sandstone. It is shown standing gracefully with a bend towards the left. The left arm is akimbo and the right holds the blue lotus (*utpala*). There is a plain oval-shaped halo cut-in-relief on the back behind the head of Śiva (Plate XXX*a*). The hair is matted with a knot on the top. There are two different kinds of *kuṇḍalas* in the ears, a bold necklace of beads, armlets, and bracelets formed by snakes, a girdle which has a knot in front and a loin cloth on the body below this. On the whole, the figure differs from all other representations of Śiva and the art here shows a distinct influence of the later Gupta style.

Among the loose stone images found in the excavations the following may be mentioned :—

Stone head of Bodhisattva (Plate XXXVIIIa).—This is part of an image of Bodhisattva with a high matted headdress crowned by a lotus shaped crest. The *ushnīsha* on the forehead and the incised line showing arched eye-brows are noteworthy. The figure may be attributed to about the tenth century.

Kubera (Plate XXXVIII b).—Squatting with the hands on knees and legs resting on pedestal in front; the back ground shows a square frame with a beaded border and a similar halo behind the head. Kubera is distinguished by a purse in his left hand from which rounded objects, probably coins, are issuing.

Fragmentary image of Hevajra in close embrace with his Sakti or female counterpart (Plate XXXVIIIc).—The cult of Hevajra is not met with in India and apparently belongs to the latest phase of Buddhism before it passed into Tibet in which country the deity holds a very important position in the pantheon. The god is represented with six heads in a row and possibly two more at the top corresponding to 16 hands. Of these, the central pair holds the *śakti*, while each of the seven on either side holds a skull cup filled with some indistinct objects. The third eye appears on the forehead of each one of the heads, and a garland of skulls runs around the body. The figure is made of black basalt polish and is to be attributed to the late eleventh century. One set of hands was discovered at a later stage of the excavation, and the main figure was found in the clearance of the tank in front of the north gateway.

Mutilated torso of Bodhisattva (Plate XXXVIIIe).—This was found in the clearance of the *débris* on the second terrace and was apparently mutilated in course of some invasion; only the portion below the abdomen has been preserved. One of the legs is resting on a lotus and the other is folded above the broad double lotus seat. The drapery is shown in schematic folds on either leg, and on the waist appears a highly ornamented girdle. In the foils of the lotus stalk below the seat are shown three small figurines, two of which have a peaked head-dress, while one has flowing curls. On grounds of style this piece, which is made of black basalt, may be assigned to the eleventh century.

Standing female figure (Plate XXXVIII f).—This is the biggest loose stone image found in Paharpur, but unfortunately its fragmentary condition does not allow us to know more about it. The head disappeared and so have the hands and feet. Only one of the circular ear ornaments is preserved and the ends of traces of hair over the shoulders are to be seen. The drapery consists of a close fitting embroidered garment passing over the left shoulder. The ends of the folds are shown in incised lines beyond the body and over the legs. The undergarment is held on the waist by a richly ornamented girdle to the proper left of the figure beyond the capital of a pillar, but it is not clear in what way it was connected with the main figure. Tentatively we may identify the female as a representation of the goddess Tārā.

CHAPTER V.

Terracotta Plaques.

Terracotta plaques.—The most numerous specimens of antiquity from Paharpur are the terracotta plaques, the vast majority of which numbering about 2,000 still lie *in situ;* those found loose in the excavation are not less than 800 in number. The terracotta art in India is as old as the Indus civilisation and in the alluvial plains of the Indus and the Ganges, it is but natural that the plastic qualities of the loam should have been fully utilised for the manufacture of cheap artifacts for domestic use and decorational purposes. The use of stone, which is available in certain favoured localities, has only been possible in well-known centres of art such as Mathurā, Sārnāth and Bihar. From all the excavated sites in Sind, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Bihar, the finds of terracotta toy animals and human figures have been as common as pottery. The decorative terracotta plaques of Paharpur have also their counterpart in the tiles from Harvan[1] in Kashmir, the plaques from Hanumangaṛh[2] in Bikaner, the plaques decorating the surface of the Stūpas at Mirpurkhas[3] in Sind, the big panels of the temples of Bhitargaon[4] in Cawnpore District and the large number of plaques found in a temple at Sahet Mahet.[5] There is closer similarity between the Sahet Mahet and the Paharpur plaques, but the richness, variety and exuberance of the material from Paharpur are unrivalled anywhere else. In Eastern India plaques of exactly similar type have been found at Mahasthan[6] in Bogra District, Sabhar[7] in Dacca District and at the Dah Parbatiya[8] temple near Tezpur in Assam. These sites are approximately contemporary with the Paharpur temple and it would thus appear that the use of terracotta plaques in decorating the exterior of temples and shrines had been well-nigh established in Eastern India from the seventh century A.D. If the nature of this material, abundant but less durable, induced humbler artists to take up this art than the sister art of sculpture, it appears that the sense of freedom from the trammels of iconography and canons of religion enabled them to exercise their fancy more freely and give full play to their capacity for rendering passing phases and moods in every day life. While the sculptor revelled in delineating form and anatomy and adding finishing touches to his work, the terracotta artist excelled in reproducing every conceivable picturesque subject, which the world of man and beast, nature and fiction brought within the compass of his fancy and observation. The artists of Paharpur must have been keen of

[1] *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* by R. C. Kak, p. 106.
[2] *Archaeological Survey Report,* 1917-18, p. 22.
[3] *Archaeological Survey Report,* Part II, 1902-10, p. 80*ff.*
[4] *Archaeological Survey Report,* Part II, 1908-09, p. 6.
[5] *Archaeological Survey Report,* Part II, 1907-08, p. 81*ff.*
[6] *Archaeological Survey Report,* 1928-29, p. 88*ff.*
[7] *Archaeological Survey Report,* 1925-26, p. 41.
[8] *Archaeological Survey Report,* 1925-26, p. 116.

observation and fully responsive to their environment and produced a folk art racy of the soil to which it belongs. In the words of Dr. St. Kramrisch[1] 'an acute sense of frolicsome freedom and of vigorous action reveals the Indian artist from yet another side'. The part that the local artists played in regard to the Paharpur temple may be illustrated by the fact that the details of composition of a stone relief are frequently finished in terracotta work. The Paharpur builders were thus indifferent as to which material was employed, provided the scheme of decoration was completed without any apparent short-comings. The facility with which terracotta work could be manufactured locally at short notice while stone had to be obtained from a distance with considerable difficulty, probably explains why in Bengal they were not particular about the material they used as the medium of plastic art.

In the scheme of decoration of the walls of the temple terracotta plaques play the most predominant part (Plate XXXIX *f*). Both in the basement and first floor walls there were at least two and at places three rows of plaques. A large number of these are still standing in the position in which they were originally fixed, but most of the upper rows of plaques have been dislodged. An intensive study of the plaques, as they stand *in situ*, fails to bring out any regular sequential arrangement, and it appears as if it was only chance that determined whether a plaque with human figure was to be followed by a striding monkey, a goose or a conch.[2] It seems that the general idea of what were to be the themes of the plaques was given to the artists and the latter were free to exercise their fancy as best as they could; the material fresh from the kiln was brought to the site and fixed in the wall by the builder. Even when a particular motif is repeated, it is clear that an identical mould was not used for producing what appear like identical subjects. In some cases it has been found that a particular plaque is fixed after it has been damaged or in a different position than it was originally intended. There does not seem to have been any particular group of plaques intended for homage or worship, except of course the Buddha images fixed in certain prominent positions, such as the one in the middle of the east side-wall. It is remarkable that all the Buddha plaques found in the Satyapir Bhiṭā mound had a seal impression inscribed with certain Buddhist formulae, the impression being in the thickness of the plaque covered by clay. This indicates that plaques with such divine subjects were manufactured in the process of construction. No such instance has, however, come to light in the plaques from the main temple.

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[1] *Indian Sculpture*, p. 73.

[2] To take an example, the illustration in Plate XXXIX may thus be analysed. In (*a*) we see a succession of animals—a well-modelled buffalo in a pond, a boar with head bent, an elephant rampant, a cow grazing and another elephant with head tossed up. In (*b*) the sequence consists of a fish with head up, an elephant rampant, a conch with chain suspended at one end, a goose and a conch-face. In (*c*) the series commences with a plantain tree, followed by a monkey holding a bunch of fruits, two plaques showing woman with child and a Śabara archer. In (*d*) we find a fish, back view of a squatting human figure, a standing Bodhisattva, a duck and a woman. In (*e*) we find a man holding a sword and shield, then a dancing figure, a manuscript poised on a three-pointed-support, a profile view of a man seated with head resting on a hand, a man holding a stick over his shoulder with a lotus stalk round an arm and leg. Figure (*f*) shows a beflagged *liṅga* followed by a winged hybrid, a goose, a boar and a running *asura*.

The plaques used in the walls of the ground floor of the main temple are of a standard height (1′ 2″); the breadth, though generally 8″ to 8½″, may vary in different examples. Special plaques, which occupy the corners or angles of the walls, were required to face on two sides and were thus larger in dimension. Plaques fixed in the upper rows on the first terrace were manufactured in a special size, about 6″ square, and a small plaque measuring 6″×5¼″, is also known from the Satyapir Bhiṭā. At the other end of the scale are some unusually big plaques measuring 16″×12″×2½″ or 15½″×14″×2¾″.

An idea of the date of the plaques can be formed by the form of the letters incised on each of the legs of an antelope (Plate XLVIII*a*). These letters, which read *sāhi jā ya*, cannot be earlier than the tenth century and the words engraved show that the incision was done prior to the firing of plaques. The anterior limit at Paharpur is, of course, the construction of the temple itself, *i.e.*, the eighth century A.D.; but it is interesting to note that the manufacture of plaques continued for at least two centuries more. In some of the later buildings, *e.g.*, in the Satyapir Bhiṭā, the specimens of plaques of the earlier type may be taken to indicate that they were removed from their original position and used in later structures.

Among the divine figures illustrated in the plaques at Paharpur, Brahmanical and Buddhist gods are equally and promiscuously found, so that there is no reason to suppose that any of them were specially intended to be objects of worship. Perhaps, the only terracotta figure in a somewhat conspicuous position is that of the Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude found in the middle of the row of plaques on the basement wall on the east side. Otherwise, there appears to be no attempt either to set apart any place for Brahmanical or Buddhist gods. Among the Brahmanical figures, probably the most numerous representations in terracotta are those of the god Śiva who is also portrayed at Paharpur by more bas-reliefs than any other individual deity. It is, however, noteworthy that no two representations of this god here are exactly alike. All these varieties of the representation of the god are again different from the type of stone image popular in the late Pāla period, namely, the Hara-Gaurī image, of which only a single metal specimen has been found during the excavations of the monastery.

In the main temple at Paharpur the principal varieties of the representations of Śiva may be classified as (1) images showing Śiva as a naked ascetic, (2) clad images, and (3) representations of Śiva in the form of a *liṅga*. To the first variety belong most of the standing stone reliefs in which the god is shown as (1) holding a *triśūla* in hand and a snake over the shoulders (Plate XXXI*a*), (2) with a bull by his side (Plate XXXI*b*), (3) holding a rosary and *kamaṇḍalu* (Plate XXXI*d*), and (4) holding an umbrella of peacock feathers (*mayūrachhatra*) (Plate XXXIc). The only terracotta image of this category is the figure of Śiva seated on a lotus seat (Plates XLIV*a* and XLIV*e*) on the first terrace verandah wall on the south-west, which shows the god with his distinctive third eye and as holding the spiral-shaped staff of the *triśūla*. Among the

clad images, besides the stone reliefs, characterised by the moon on the forehead (*Chandraśekhara*), or holding a blue lotus in hand, we have in terracotta at least two other varieties, one in which the god is shown as standing with a spear in left hand and garland of skulls over the shoulders (Plate XLI*d*-2) and the other consisting of a multi-headed form of the god with ten hands bearing different weapons (Plate XLIV*a*). The former, with its gaping mouth and spear, may possibly be a representation of *Bhairava*, but the latter is certainly Śiva as *Pañchānana* (five-faced), although only three of the heads are apparent. A bust with the hair arranged in the form of a *jaṭājūṭa* on the top of the head and also falling over the shoulder, and with the third eye in the middle of the forehead may also be a representation of Śiva; but the figure, which wears a necklace with beads shaped like mango fruits and ear-rings of two different patterns, has more ornaments on the person than is usually permissible on a Śiva figure and the objects in the hand, one of which looks like a cup, are indistinct. Among the representations of the Śiva-Liṅga, at least two can be distinctly made out among the plaques, one in which the Liṅga is represented as a single cylindrical object standing on a rectangular pedestal (*pīṭha*) with the surface decorated with a garland of flowers and banners flying by the sides (Plate XXXIX*f*-1), and another, which corresponds to the four-faced (*chaturmukha*) Liṅgas, three of the faces being shown in the plaque on the top of the cylindrical shaft standing on a broad circular pedestal (Plate LVI*e*). It is noteworthy that the shallow incision in the imitation of a vertical section of a Liṅga, which is often found in structural stone Liṅgas has also been imitated in both these representations in terracotta plaques. It will thus be seen that the contribution of Paharpur to the iconography of Śaivism is not inconsiderable.

Other Brahmanical gods represented in the plaques are Brahmā, Vishṇu, Gaṇeśa and possibly also Sūrya. Brahmā as found in one plaque on the south-west verandah wall on the first terrace, has the usual four heads (one at the back being invisible) and is seated on a cushioned seat holding a rosary in the right and possibly a vase in the left hand (Plate XLIV*b*). The representation differs from the stone relief in all respects but the attributes in the hands. Vishṇu is absent from sculptural representations at Paharpur but is found in one plaque on the south-west side in the first terrace. As a seated figure, he appears in a plaque (Plate XLII*d*-5) holding the usual attributes namely conch in lower right hand, discus in upper right, the lotus in lower left and what looks like a short club (*gadā*) in the upper left hand. It is significant that no similar representation of a seated Vishṇu is found in any sculpture of the Pāla period in Bengal when the worship of Vishṇu reached its height, the only parallel being the Vishṇu Janārdana figure cut in the rocky bank of the Brahmaputra at Gauhati in Assam (*A. R., A. S., E. C.* 1920-21, Plate I). On the other hand, a number of plaques testify to the popularity of the Kṛishṇa legend which is so well represented in the earlier stone reliefs. The representation of a naked boy holding a pitcher on his head with both hands accompanied by a man holding an umbrella with one hand and supporting a pitcher on the head with the other hand (Plate XLI*a*-3), another showing a figure snatching a pitcher from the hand

of a female (Plate XXXIXc-3), still another showing a boy holding the trunks of trees on either side (*Yamalārjuna* scene) must undoubtedly refer to the early life of Kṛishṇa. Another plaque showing a woman churning milk with a child by her side may refer to Yaśodā with the child Kṛishṇa. The figures of an ascetic with matted hair holding a bow and arrow (Plate XLVIIIe) sometime with a quiver or with a tree by his side, which is met with in some plaques (Plate XLVIIIc), may be taken to represent Rāma as an exile in the Daṇḍaka forest. The two seated figures of ascetics, holding bows and arrows in another plaque, may perhaps be taken to be the brothers Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (Plate XLVIII*f*). The popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* stories is again attested by the occurrence of the figure of the garlanded monkey which must be taken to represent Sugrīva as in the stone relief. Several figures of Gaṇeśa occur among the terracotta plaques of which the most striking is that in which the god is shown (Plate XLIV*d*) as standing astride his vehicle, the mouse, holding a bunch of flowers or sprouts in the upper left hand and a goad in the upper right hand, the lower left hand resting on the thigh and the lower right in the gift-bestowing attitude. The hair of Gaṇeśa is arranged in the form of a *jaṭājūṭa* and the third eye in the middle of the forehead is clearly visible. This figure is similar to one of the stone reliefs (No. 17) except that it is standing; but it differs from the seated figure in stone relief (No. 5) and from other figures in terracotta (*cf.* Plate XLII*d*-1). A loose plaque, in which a divine figure with a halo behind the head is shown as seated with legs crossing each other and holding in both uplifted hands full-blown lotuses, may be identified as the only representation of the Sun-god at Paharpur. The lotus in the left hand is not quite clear, but the boots in the legs and in particular the way in which the legs are shown reminds one of this representation of the Sun-god on the Bodh Gayā railings and other early figures. The god is shown with the upper garment or scarf flying above the shoulders in the usual fashion of Paharpur. In the middle and later Pāla period we find many stone sculptures representing this god, but no seated figure of this type.

Among the Buddhist deities illustrated in the plaques mention may be made of the following, all of which undoubtedly belong to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. The Buddha figure with a halo behind the head and seated in the earth-touching (*bhūmisparśa*) attitude on a seat balanced on three stones, the central one of which shows the *vajra* symbol (Plate XLV*b*), is in a prominent position standing in the centre of the main eastern wall and was easily accessible for the worship of the circumambulating devotees. The traces of the leaves on either side of the halo must denote the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment, but the structures or hills on either side of the main figure, which may be the artist's attempt to indicate the hilly nature of the land-scape, are not met with elsewhere. The Buddha appears in other plaques mostly in (meditation) *dhyānamudrā*, earth-touching (*bhūmisparśá*) and also in the easy (*līlāsana*) attitude. Three plaques of the first type, discovered during the excavation of the Satyapir Bhiṭā, are remarkable for the fact that encased within their thickness were found two seals of $\frac{7}{8}$ in. diameter placed

face to face, the hollow being filled up from the back with earth. The inscription on the seals consists either of the usual Buddhist creed or a mystic formula (Plate LIX*d*, *e* and *f*) which appears to have been employed to give further sanctity to the figures of the Buddha. A Buddha plaque in *līlāsana* shows the right knee tucked up, with the right hand in *abhayamudrā* or attitude of protection, and the left hand resting on the thigh. More frequent than the figures of the Buddha are the Bodhisattvas who occupy a prominent place in the Mahāyāna pantheon. An interesting figure is that of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi seated in *vajra-paryaṅka* pose (Plate XLV*a*) with upturned palms of the soles on a cushion decorated with lotus flowers separated by beaded columns. The dress of the Bodhisattva consists of a peaked cap, a fillet along the line of the forehead decorated with foliage, an upper garment thrown across the arms and a girdle with flowered clasp in front, while his right hand holds near the chest a full-blown lotus the stalk of which is held by the left. The same peaked head-dress is found on another figure of Mañjuśrī turned to left (Plate XLV*f*), one of whose knees is tucked up and the blue lotus (*utpala*), one of the distinguishing marks of the god, is seen at the background. The ear of this figure, unlike the previous one, is provided with big circular ear-ornament. Another plaque shows a corpulent figure seated on a lotus in the *līlāsana* having elaborate armlets and a necklace with a central medallion besides huge ear-rings, which proclaim him to be Jambhala, the god of wealth (Plate XLV*c*). In the right background we notice a lotus; in the right hand, resting on the knee, there is an indistinct object which may be a vase (*ghaṭa*) and in the crest is possibly the figure of a *Dhyāni-Buddha*. Another, apparently a Bodhisattva figure, has a lotus in right hand and a vase (*ghaṭa*) over a lotus in left. The last is possibly to be identified with Maitreya, the future Buddha. The figure of Mañjuśrī seated in *līlāsana* on a full-blown lotus on a plaque in the first terrace verandah on the south-west (Plate XLIV*f*) can be identified owing to the presence of a curved knife or chopper (*kartarī*) over a lotus in the right background. This popular deity can also be recognised on another plaque where another of his distinguishing marks, *viz.*, a manuscript occurs on a lotus by the side of the seated figure. Thus, it will be seen that the sword, book and lotus, all the three distinguishing marks of Mañjuśrī, are found on three different plaques at Paharpur. Among the female divinities in the Mahāyāna pantheon, Tārā is the most popular and the only one whose forms can be identified among the plaques. Plate XLIV*c* shows an image of Tārā seated on a double-lotus seat in *līlāsana*, with the blue lotus (*utpala*), her distinguishing mark, seen in the right background. The figure is fully draped and the folds of the drapery on the upper part of the body are distinct. Another plaque portrays the same goddess, similarly draped but in a standing position (Plate XLV*d*), the presence of the lotus again serving to identify the figure. The crude delineation of the hands and legs in the latter figure stands in contrast to the carefully moulded figure of a seated female (Plate XLV*e*), which should possibly be considered as one of the forms of the goddess. The plastic qualities of the latter figure are not commonly seen in the representation of human figures among the plaques at Paharpur. In the

later period, it appears that the eight-handed form of Tārā[1] was popular in the Paharpur establishment, as sealings bearing the effigy of the goddess in this form have been discovered in the excavations at Satyapir Bhiṭā mound. The late date of this can be inferred from the characters of the Mahāyāna creed formula found on these.

The Gandharvas are denizens of the sky and are delineated in numerous plaques as flying either singly (Plate XLVII*b* and *f*) or with the Vidyādharīs or *apsarasas*, their female counterparts (Plate XLVII*c*). Their legs, covered by lotus-shaped boots, are invariably shown as turned upward in the act of flight, their hair is braided and their bodies appear to be floating in space. They are shown as holding a sword and a noose (Plate XLVII*f*) or lotuses or more commonly as carrying a garland. A plaque on the first terrace verandah shows a Gandharva holding a broken necklace in his hand, the pearls or beads having accumulated on the floor (Plate XLVII*b*). One plaque shows a Gandharva riding a rhinoceros (Plate XLVI*e*). In one instance, three adjacent plaques form together a group showing the worship of Śiva-liṅga by Gandharvas holding garlands in their hands. Among the semi-divine and semi-human subjects treated by the Paharpur artist special mention must be made of Gandharvas, *Kīrtimukhas* or lion-faces and Nāgas. The combined human and leonine characteristics of *Kīrtimukhas* have made this motif a very popular one in Indian architecture and its auspicious character reflected by showering of pearls or lotuses from the mouth lends itself admirably for decorative purpose. Plate XLVI*a* shows a conventional pearl string issuing from the mouth of a figure with an oval coiffeur with rather stylised floral decoration below. Plate XLVIII*d* shows a composite head with horns above, protruding ears and a lotus issuing from mouth. With the *Kīrtimukha* faces may be connected a peculiar type of leogryph showing arms crossed in front and the mane standing over either flank (Plate XLVII*a*). The Nāgas are a class of semi-human beings in Indian mythology and it is no wonder that several representations of these figures are found at Paharpur. They are shown either as having snake-hoods instead of heads (Plate XLVI*b*) or hoods above the regular heads (Plate XLVI*f*) or with the lower part depicted as the tail of a snake (Plate XLIII*c*-1 and *e*-3). In earlier Indian sculpture as at Bharhut the latter type is abundant but in Paharpur it is the other type which is more frequently met with. The Nāgas and Nāginīs are often shown as making obeisance (Plate XLVI*f*) probably to Buddha, as we find at Sāñchī and Bharhut and sometimes as playing on musical instruments (Plate XLVI*c*). Connected with serpent-lore may be considered the representations of Garuḍa, the traditional enemy of the snake world. A plaque found at Paharpur shows Garuḍa as a human being, holding two hooded snakes on either flank (Plate LIV*f*). Another representation shows Garuḍa as squatting with an almost human face and plumage unfurled behind (Plate LIV*b*),

[1] This form is almost identical with the image from Tippera illustrated by Mr. Bhattasali in plate XVIII of his 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum'. He identifies the goddess with Sitātapatrā but there is no distinctive parasol in either the Tippera image or in the Paharpur sealings. The eight hands I would take as indicative of the eight-fold protection received by the devotees from the 'eight great dangers *viz.* lions, elephants, snakes, thieves, lighting, fetters, shipwreck, and demons.

strikingly reminiscent of Garuḍa on the silver coins of the Guptas and in Indonesian sculpture. The feet and chest as well as the face in this representation are almost human, a distinction also shared by the representation of a peacock (Plate LIV*d*) in almost similar attitude. The plumage in the latter is decorated by the characteristic eyelets treated appropriately to the Sanskrit name with so many "little moons" (*chandrakas*). The natural antipathy between the peacock and the snake, as also the mongoose and the snake finds frequent representation among the plaques at Paharpur. A fight between a peacock and cobra is shown generally as leading to the discomfiture of the latter as will be seen from Plate LV*c*. The representation of a cobra issuing out of a conical anthill (Plate XLVI*d*) is supplemented by the portrayal in another plaque of the perching of a peacock on an anthill in the act of attacking a cobra which is issuing out of it (Plate XLIII*c*). One plaque shows a pair of cobras with their bodies entwined around each other as at the time of mating (Plate XLIII*g*), while another has two cobras standing vertically on their tails with their hoods up, as engaged in a fight.

Composite animals showing bird's heads with wings and legs and human bodies or animal bodies with human heads are very commonly met with among the Paharpur plaques (Plate XL *b*-3 and 4, *c*-5, *d*-5) sometimes in groups of five or six arranged in sequence. Popular fancy delighted in conceiving of such feathered centaurs and hybrids and the terracotta artist apparently more than satisfied the craving. A rather noteworthy composite being shows a head with goat's horns and a body with spots as that of a leopard (Plate XL*a*-5). A couple with a human upper part and bovine legs and tail, standing side by side with arms round each other's neck is depicted in a plaque (Plate XLI*b*-4). Another grotesque figure showing a human head with long pointed ears, placed on a pedestal is depicted in another plaque (Plate XLVII*e*).

The essentially popular nature of the terracotta art of Paharpur is reflected in its delineation of stories current in folk-lore. Macdonell [1] found in old Indian story lore 'the most original Department of Indian literature, which has exercised a greater influence in foreign literature than any other branch of Indian writing'. Several of the popular stories from the earliest and most widely translated work, the *Pañchatantra* can be recognised in the Paharpur plaques. Such, for example, is the well-known story (No. 1 of the 1st *Tantra*) of the meddlesome monkey, which came to grief by pulling out a wedge from a split up beam of wood in a saw mill. It is repeated at least thrice on the Paharpur plaques, where we see a monkey perched on a beam in an inclined position as in the process of sawing, with the wedge in its hand, which is the key to the story (*Kīlotpāṭī vānaraḥ*) (Plate LII*a*). Another well-known story (No. 6 of the first *Tantra*) of which several illustrations have been found at Paharpur is that of the lion Madonmatta ('haughty'), who was decoyed by a hare into a well, where the lion mistook its own reflection for another beast and in trying to fight with it perished by drowning. The artists of Paharpur apparently found it

[1] *Cf.* Macdonell: *India's Past*, p. 116.

necessary to omit all other details except the figure of the lion looking into the well (Plate LII*d*). A number of plaques depicting 'a lion in a cave' (Plate LII*e*), apparently refer to another story, that of the 'talking cave', found only in certain versions of the *Pañchatantra*, such as the *Tantrākhyāyikā* of Kashmir, the Jaina versions and the *Bṛihatkathā*, and therefore considered as secondary in its entirety.[1] As remarked above, the utmost brevity demanded in the treatment by the nature of the material led to the elimination of even such essential elements of the story as the jackal, standing in front of the cave, whose imaginary conversation with the cave led the lion to respond in roars. We thus see only the lion in the cave, apparently in the attitude of roaring, and no other details. This almost cryptic treatment and the absence of any sequence in the series render it difficult to assert with any degree of certainty whether any of the scenes depicted represent the stories known in popular folk-lore. Thus one of the best animal studies in the series, that of a deer grazing or drinking water (Plate LII*f*) may be a representation of the deer in the second *Tantra*, 'the winning of friends'; when pursued by hunters, it approached the bank of a tank, where it eventually made friends with the crow, mouse and tortoise. The plaque representing a monkey holding a bunch of mangoes (Plate XXXIX, Fig. *c*-2) as in the act of offering may also possibly refer to one of the numerous stories of offerings by monkeys in Buddhist literature. It is, however, worthy of note that no incidents from the life of Buddha or any clear representations of *Jātaka* stories have been found, apparently owing to the lessening influence of Buddha as a human personality in Mahāyāna. The plaque, showing a woman by the side of a well drawing out a man by means of a rope (Plate XLIII*f*), may represent an unidentified story current in folk-lore but not found in Buddhist literature.

Another story in terracotta not found in the *Pañchatantra* shows what must have been a local version of a well-known Aesop's Fable. The story of the lion released from the snares of a hunter by a grateful mouse meets us at Paharpur in the form of 'elephant and mice'. Here is seen an elephant in captivity, on whose body appear three mice, all engaged in the act of nibbling away the cords on the neck and legs (Plate LII*b*). The didactic nature of the fables relating to animals as found in early Indian folk-lore is eminently suitable for illustration in plastic form in a popular place of worship, where apparently people of all denominations congregated irrespective of their creed. The posterior limit of the age of the *Pañchatantra*, which has been taken by scholars as the fifth century A. D., finds corroboration from the Paharpur illustrations which may be considered as the first representations of folk-lore stories unconnected with religion found on an Indian monument.

The sense of humour of the Paharpur artist finds expression in the delineation of the picturesque and less developed races of men inhabiting the outlying regions of Bengal. The Śabaras, who are aboriginals of the vast jungle tracts in the central parts of the country, must have been familiar to the dwellers of the

[1] Edgerton: *The Pañchatantra reconstructed*, Vol. II, p. 77.

plain in Bengal, and with their arboreal habits and hunting propensities they formed a favourite subject for the terracotta artist. Their quaint apparel consists of a cuirass for the breast, a leaf apron hardly sufficient to cover their shame; while they had quivers at their back (from which they are sometimes shown as drawing arrows) and bows in hand. In several plaques the Śabara male is shown as a bearded figure wearing boots (Plate XLIX*d*). One example shows a Śabara trying to climb a tree with one hand on a branch and another on the trunk of the tree. The Śabara female is depicted as clad in a simple garland of leaves across her shoulder and a string of leaves round her waist (Plate XLIX*a*). She is often depicted as wielding a bow or as holding a child and a dagger in her hands or as carrying in her hand a deer (Plate XLIX*f*) or other wild animal, no doubt hunted by the Śabara and providing these denizens of the forest with their customary meal. The coiffeur of the Śabarī is neatly delineated and the ear-ornaments, apparently of jungle leaves and flowers are well-drawn. The necklace of beads and *gāñjā* seeds with which the aboriginal woman loves to decorate her body are not forgotten, and in one instance even a scarf (possibly a bark garment) is shown across the breast and arm, although at the waist appears only the usual apron of leaves. The Śabarī is also shown as wielding the bow in one plaque and holding a dagger in one hand and suckling her infant in other plaqies.

Several plaques depict the Śabara as accompanied by the Śabarī, generally in an attitude of embrace, and in one case a Śabara chief is depicted with a female on either side. The artist of Paharpur has generally associated the Śabaras with Gandharvas and semi-divine or composite semi-human figures. The plaques showing the Śabara couple are rather carefully finished (*cf.* Plate XLIX*b*, *c* and *e*), but the females are proportionately diminutive in size. It can be easily understood how the type of Śabara female, clad in leaf (*parṇa*) apron, such as is depicted at Paharpur, gave rise to the conception of Parna-Śabarī in the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism, the deity being invoked for protection from disease.

As the main characteristic of terracotta work at Paharpur is its dynamic quality, the various movements of men and women engaged in different occupation fill a large portion of the Paharpur plaques. Among human representations, we see men in the act of walking to the right or to the left (*cf.* Plate XLII*b*), seated on their haunches, acrobats balancing their bodies on the hands or attempting seemingly impossible feats, such as balancing the legs on either shoulder with the hands joined near the chest (Plate XLII*e*). Women with children in arms (Plate XLIII*i*-5) or by their side (Plate XLI*c*-1) or lying on a couch with a child or making obeisance with hands folded together on the breast, drawing water from a well or carrying pitchers of water entering through a door (Plate XL*a*-1 and *e*-3) or holding a garland, are among the commonest themes. A human couple standing with arms round each other's neck as in Plate XLVIII*d* is a rare example. A fine study of a seated corpulent woman with her face turned away is worthy of special notice inasmuch as even the anatomical details of the fingers and legs are faithfully drawn. An unusually

realistic plaque on the north-east side of the basement shows a woman, perhaps a witch, with a wide open mouth in a ghastly laugh, extending almost from ear to ear, holding up her upper garment over the head and shoulders, the treatment of the garment in wide incised line being quite in keeping with the composition. Some human busts with fine chiselled features and carefully delineated coiffeur (Plate L*c* and *d*) are noteworthy portrait studies. Not content with showing human figures merely in relief, the artists seemed to have attempted some heads in profile (Plate L*d*) as also the back and side views of seated (Plate L*a* and L*f*) and standing figures.

Several plaques depict warriors both male and female who are generally foot-soldiers sometimes clad in a coat-of-mail armed with a club (*gadā*), sword (*asi*) or dagger in one hand and shield (*charmma*) in the other (Plate LVII*c*, *d* and *e*), the latter being either circular (Plate XLI*d*-1) or oblong. Archers mounted on four-wheeled chariots (*rathin*) are very often depicted either singly (Plate LVII*b*) or facing each other in two adjacent plaques as if engaged in battle (Plate LVII*a*). Only the lower frame of the chariot is shown with a crocodile (*makara*) head in front and the solid wheels below, but neither the horses nor the superstructure are to be seen. In one case a seated figure is shown with quivers at either side and as holding the stalk of a lotus plant. The other two arms of the four-fold (*chaturaṅga*) Indian army are not well represented, though occasionally a rider or an elephant conductor is met with among the subjects.

Ascetics as travelling mendicants with long beards, their bodies bent and sometimes reduced to skeletons, carrying staff in hand and their belongings such as bowls hanging from either ends of a pole carried on the shoulder (Plate XXVI*a* and *b*) are one of the most favourite themes (*cf.* also Plate XLVIII*c*). A plaque showing the back view of a naked person holding his hands up must also be the representation of an ascetic. The performance of the midday Brāhmaṇical ritual is shown in another plaque, depicting a kneeling man with hands raised and looking through the fingers as if at the sun overhead. A man carrying a basket on a sling and holding an axe in the right hand is shown in a plaque, while another shows a man with a wicker-work basket in front and bag on left shoulder. Men holding banners aloft or manuscripts over the head or carrying long scarfs over head and both hands are among the common subjects. The usual method by which travellers carried loads balancing them at the end of a bent pole resting on their shoulders is illustrated in several plaques. Purely rural scenes such as of a cultivator carrying his plough are found in two plaques. Among unusual scenes may be mentioned that in which a chief is seated with his queen to the left (Plate XLII*a*-1), a man being attended to by a servant shampooing his hand and a batch of figures peeping through windows. Among musicians we find representations of men and women holding cymbals (Plate XLIII*d*), beating a gongbell (Plate LI*a*), striking a *ḍamaru* (Plate LI*b*), blowing a trumpet, playing on a lute (Plate LI*d*) or Indian lyre (*vīṇā*) (Plate LI*f*), keeping time on pitchers with leather stretched across the mouth (Plate LI*c*) or handling a drum or tabor (*mṛidaṅga*), the usual accompaniment of Indian

music. Dancing figures, both male and female, are very commonly represented (*cf.* Plate LI*e*), the posture of the hands and body showing a fascinating variety.

An interesting plaque in the first terrace verandah on the south-east records the well-known story of the plight of the royal sage Triśanku, who reaching heaven by dint of his sacrifices, was pushed down by Indra, but remains suspended in mid-heaven as a star with three rivets (the 'southern cross'). In the plaque, we see the standing ascetic figure of Triśanku holding fast to the place he had gained, with the triple towers or ladders to his right and to the left a hand (apparently that of Viśvāmitra, his mentor and preceptor) and two stars and clouds suggesting the position in the sky. Another plaque shows a man seated on a cushion, holding the top knot on his head with the left hand and a sword in the right across his own neck, as if in the act of striking. This may possibly refer to the life of Buddha himself, when he cut off his long hair with his sword, just before he turned a recluse.

The dress of men as revealed by the plaques consisted of a lower garment generally a short *dhoti* reaching the knees and an upper scarf, both presumably of cotton. Sometimes a longer *dhoti* reaching upto the ankles in graceful folds is also shown, one end of the garment being tucked up behind as a *kāchhā* and the other shown loose in a serpentine curl in front. Women's dress was also similar, but in some instances we notice shorts made of some hairy material like wool and in others long drawers reaching the ankles. The folds of the garment are often marked by incisions, both horizontal and vertical, and floral embroidery is often marked on the scarfs and under garments. Boots are sometimes worn by warriors, but common people must have gone unshod. Except for a conical head-dress for the grotesque figures and the jewelled crown, no head-dress is seen but the elaborate coiffeurs of men and women are a noteworthy feature. Men wore their hair long with thick tresses falling on the shoulder, tied a knot on the top and had curls or ringlets on the forehead kept in place by a neat fillet. Women had their hair gathered in a bunch at the back or arranged it fan-wise behind the head. Both men and women put on ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, armlets, girdles, anklets, and ear-rings of different kinds.

The animal world represented in the plaques at Paharpur is fairly complete as far as the fauna of Bengal is concerned. Among the most successful and lifelike representations of animals are the buffalo and the antelope drinking water occurring on the ground-floor on the north-west side. The buffalo is sometimes shown as resorting to a pond, which is indicated by lotus plants in the background. A glance at the rows of plaques will, however, show that what the artists of Paharpur aimed at was not representations of animals at rest or in their haunts but as faithful renderings as possible of the animals they observed in action. Thus, the antelope is very often shown as flying on all fours, sometimes with the head tossed up (Plate LIII*c*), over a paddy field (Plate XL*d*-4, XLII*a*-5), or in the act of gazing for a moment during flight and looking back as it were for the pursuer (Plate XLIII*j*-4). An antelope with pennons flying from the neck is found on several plaques (Plate XLII*a*-3). It is interesting to note that the *Pañchatantra* (II, 4, 208) refers to the two gaits of the deer, the straightaway

and the upright, both of which are finely illustrated in the plaques. The representations showing a young deer scratching its head at the back of another or entwining its body around another (Plate XLI*d*-3)—conceptions also referred to in Sanskrit literature,—illustrate the artist's power of observation. The elephant has been found in several plaques in different positions and attitudes, but the delineation is often unsuccessful. One plaque shows an elephant in the characteristic attitude of uplifting the trunk in a welcoming mood (Plate XLI*c*-3), while another shows the animal picking up a shoot of some tree by the wound-up end of the trunk before throwing it into the mouth (Plate LIII*a*). Other representations show the animal putting the end of the trunk below the upraised front foot. A man curbing an elephant is the theme of a plaque on the south-west side and the struggle of a man with a rogue elephant is shown in other plaques. A loose plaque shows an elephant walking with full trappings, to the hanging chain used for riding. Horsemen are shown in several plaques sometimes with spear in hand, but the caparisoned horse under a tree in flowers illustrated in Plate LIII*f* shows very careful treatment, not usually bestowed on the subject. A galloping mare with its foal following is the subject of a plaque. Donkeys are rarely depicted, but a pair standing one behind the other is seen in a plaque. A very rare subject is the camel almost out of place in the humid plains of Bengal. But the figure illustrated in Plate LIII*b* with its long neck and double hump would show that the artist was familiar with not only the Indian camel but also with the Bactrian variety, which has a double hump.

Monkeys are among the most popular themes at Paharpur as they have always been in popular Indian representations from the time of the Bharhut Stūpa. They are represented as walking along (Plate XLII*b*-2) or as sitting on haunches or with their bodies bent or sometimes in pairs with their bodies entwined round each other (Plate LIII*c*). Popular stories such as 'the monkey and the wedge' are more than once represented and monkeys carrying loads on poles, holding bunches of fruit (probably as offerings) are reminiscent of the many stories in the *Jātakas* and the Buddha's life. A monkey with a crown of leaves, another holding an ear of corn, others squatting or bending their bodies or marching or with the hand raised as if for slapping exactly like a human being, are very common subjects. Another plaque shows a monkey carrying a casket on a box supported on a long rod tied with a tape around the abdomen. In fact the close resemblance between the monkey and man has been fully exploited by the artist and made to yield a fund of humorous situations. There are a few bovine representations including some fine couchant and running bulls, but a single plaque showing cow and calf has been found. This may perhaps be taken to indicate that the cow had already been regarded with that sanctity which has been a characteristic feature of modern Hinduism. The goat is depicted in rare cases but sheep do not occur. No clear representation of a dog can be traced.

Among the wild animals of the jungle, the lion and the bear are easily the most widely figured animals. The bear roaming in the forest or in the attitude of attacking or digging a cornfield with the characteristic movements of the

head and the prominent fangs is very commonly depicted (Plate XLIII*j*-3). The animal is still very common in all parts of India, particularly in the marshy plains of Bengal and is responsible for much damage to crops. The 'king of forest' is generally shown with bunches of small incisions standing for the hair and the mane is at times exaggerated. Lions rampant looking like heraldic figures (Plate XLI*b*-5) are not infrequent. In some plaques man's combat with a lion is depicted (Plate XLII*d*-3) and in others a lion and a bear are drawn together, facing each other as if engaged in a fight. In the corner plaques fixed at the basement angles of the main temple is invariably found the 'lion on elephant' motif, which is met with so widely in Indian sculpture, particularly in Orissa, and is known from a large bronze figure found in Monastery 1 at Nālandā. The tiger with the characteristic stripes is comparatively rare in the Paharpur plaques being known from Plate XL*f*-4, as also in a few more instances including one in which a woman is shown by its side, probably reminiscent of the story of a tiger marrying a woman in current folk-lore. The beast does not then appear to have been the undisputed king of the jungle that it now is in Bengal. Probably lions, which are now practically confined to the Gir forest of Kathiawar, then disputed the kingdom of the forest of Bengal with the tiger. The rhinoceros still common in the Tarai and the Brahmaputra valley is represented thrice, in one instance being depicted as the mount of a semi-divine being or Vidyādhara (Plate XLVI*e*). The body of the animal rendered with scales, does not reproduce the subject as faithfully as the terracotta model figures found at Mohenjodaro. The jackal, so well known for its cunningness in Indian folk-lore, is rather uncommon, but an interesting plaque shows the animal in the lower register aiming a missile at a lion couchant in the upper register (Plate XLIII*h*).

Among the smaller animals one can distinguish the hare and tortoise, the mongoose and the otter, porcupine and lizard. The mongoose, as the traditional enemy of the cobra, is shown in several plaques engaged in fight with the cobra. The otter, true to its habits, is shown as issuing out of an anthill. The lizard in Plate LIII*d* with the characteristic eyes and muzzle is faithfully rendered, but is rather out of proportion to its real size (*cf.* Plate XL*e*-2). Mice occur in the plaque depicting the story where they liberate the elephant (Plate LII*b*), and they are probably also to be recognised in another plaque in which the elephant is shown with two animals over its back (Plate LII*c*). In this case, however, the reduced size of the elephant and the exaggerated size of the mice makes it difficult to recognize the latter.

Among birds undoubtedly the most favourite representation is that of the duck or goose. The various postures in which the bird has been observed and delineated would, if arranged in sequence, appear like the successive parts of a motion picture. The goose at rest (Plate XL*b*-1), at toilet, wicking up its food from ground (Plate XLI, fig. 1), cleaning the plumage (Plate LIV*c*) or different parts of the body (Plate XL*b*-1), standing erect in readiness to march (Plate XXXIX, fig. 3), eating the filaments of a lotus (Plate LV*e*) or a fish or holding strings of beads in the mouth—all these and many more are the subjects which

the Paharpur artists are never tired of depicting. The goose eating a lotus and feeding its young one is illustrated in Plate LIV*e*. The wings of the goose are sometimes treated in conventional scrolls. Two other birds, one of which is probably a parrot, feeding their young ones are also shown in the same plate (LIV*a*), from which it would appear how favourite the subject was with the Paharpur artist. As already mentioned, the peacock with its beautiful plumage is another bird which accounts for quite a large number of plaques here.

Fish are shown either with a chain in the mouth (Plate XL*e*-5) as it must have appeared to the angler or as in the symbolic way of two fishes crossing each other (Plate XLII*a*-5). The latter has been considered as an auspicious symbol even as early as the Jaina Stūpa of Mathurā, where it occurs in an *āyāgapaṭa*. The tortoise is found in several plaques and crocodile heads are to be seen in others sometimes with stems of plants issuing from the mouth (Plate XLIII*i*-4); in others the animal is represented as swallowing the leg of a man who struggles hard to get hold of the proboscis or nostrils of the reptile.

The flora is but poorly represented, the common plantain tree accounting for a large majority of the representations of trees. Even among the sculptures the recurrence of this tree, as for example, in the beautiful Chaṇḍī images in the Rajshahi Museum, can be taken as almost a sure sign that they were modelled by artists from Bengal, to whom it would be much more familiar than to the sculptors of Bihar, Benares or Mathurā. The long leaves, the rolls of the unopened leaves, the indentations left on the trunk of the tree, and the shoots on either side leave no doubt that the representation is that of the plantain (Plate LV*a*). The banyan tree can be recognised on one plaque, while the tree with horizontal indentation and fruits at the stems of the long leaves may be the cocoanut palm (Plate LV*b*). The representation in one plaque of a tree with stylised leaves is difficult to identify, but another with drooping branches must be the willow or reed, so commonly fringing the banks of streams in Bengal.

The full-blown lotus, so typical a feature of the landscape of Bengal, has been met with in several plaques (*cf.* Plate XLI*b*-2) apart from its occurrence on the seats of gods and grotesque figures like the conch figure in Plate L*e*. One plaque shows a fully developed lotus bud with two younger buds and a pair of stylised leaves (Plate LV*f*). In a unique plaque figured in Plate LV*d*, we find a typical representation of a dish of lotus leaves resting on a double pyramid-shaped pedestal in which lotus leaf mouldings appear on the cornices while a number of lotus buds with stalk are placed on the dish. In another plaque, lotus petals are arranged in the form of spokes of a wheel standing on a double-pronged stand resembling the *Nandipada* symbol (Plate LVI*b*).

Among the architectural representations in the plaques at Paharpur, that of a round leaf-hut (*parṇa-śālā*), as must have been used by the hermits or recluses of that date, deserves to be noticed (Plate LVI*b*). The structure stands on a base with mouldings at the top and the bottom over which stands the main cylindrical body. The shallow incision to be seen in centre probably indicates the position of a door-leaf. The roof consists of three projecting cornices, each apparently made of a number of leaves, with a pinnacle at the top, shaped like

the head of a cobra. Another plaque shows the representation of a temple with open door, with a curvilinear roof in which two projecting cornices and a crowning *āmalaka* are noticeable. A damaged representation of a *śikhara* with an *āmalaka*, crowning the curvilinear outline, can also be distinguished. A complete representation of the Buddhist Stūpa with its base, cylindrical drum, tapering dome, the *hti* above, a rectangular finial and garlands streaming on the body is seen in a terracotta plaque. Another plaque shows a Stūpa on a pedestal with lotus-leaf mouldings, a semi-circular gateway in front and an umbrella or projecting cornice above the *hti*. It is interesting to note that though no structural example of these types appears to have been imitated in the Pāla period, thousands of clay Stūpas exactly conforming to this traditional shape were moulded even up to the eleventh century and are found deposited in a votive shrine of this period at the Satyapir Bhiṭā. A battlemented gateway standing at the entrance of a fort or palace is represented in a plaque on the first terrace verandah on the south-west (Plate XLIII*e*-1). Doors of houses are shown as panelled or battened, with one door-leaf open and a common theme is the representation of a woman standing in a half-open doorway with one shutter closed, putting her hands in the holes of the panels (Plate XL*a*-1 and *e*-3). Windows are shown as circular or oval, true to the Sanskrit name *gavāksha* (bull's eye) or composed of rectangular apertures, through which one or several persons are shown as peeping (Plate XLIII*e*-2).

A very common theme depicted among the Paharpur terracottas is three towers or hills (Plate XLIIIc and *f* and Plate XLI*f*-1) standing side by side, rising in systematic tiers. Some animal (such as a monkey or horse) or bird (usually a peacock) is shown as standing over the tower or by the side (Plate XLIIc-4 and *f*-3) which is reminiscent of the device on punch-marked coins, where a hill (or three-arched *chaitya*, as it was first called by numismatists) is often crowned by a bird or animal, such as a peacock or dog. In one instance a human figure is shown as trying to pull down the structure of the tower (or hill), which may perhaps be taken as a representation of Rāvaṇa trying to uproot Mount Kailāsa (Plate XLVIII*b*).

Among other objects may be mentioned the representation of a manuscript balanced on the ends of a tripod (Plate XXXIX*e*-3) or being carried by a man (Plate XLIc-2), and a wheel with eight spokes standing on a lotus leaf pedestal and crowned by a vase (*kalaśa*) (Plate XL*f*-3). Another wheel on stand with four spokes in the shape of lotus leaves and still another with sixteen spokes standing on a *nandipada* base (Plate LVI*b*) are also found, and may be considered to be varieties of the *Dharmachakra* (wheel of law). The *vajra* symbol, so common in Mahāyāna Buddhism, is depicted in some of the plaques. A high cylindrical crown or *mukuṭa* standing on a base with dentated ornaments and studded with jewels is shown in one plaque (Plate LVI*d*). Another plaque (Plate LVI*f*) shows the crescent moon placed on a lotus with an orb above, which probably indicates the sun, both the sun and moon being associated in Indian literature with the blooming and fading of diferent varieties of lotuses. Attention may also be drawn to a plaque representing a boat or canoe paddled by two

persons (Plate XLIII*a*). The shape of the canoe is similar to the small craft employed by fishermen in Bengal. A *kamaṇḍalu* or spouted vase with a long neck and pointed mouth is represented in a plaque, the shape being almost similar to many specimens recovered from excavations (*cf.* Plate LVI*a*). The conch with its sacred associations coming down from the Mohenjodaro age is a very favourite subject with the terracotta artist and in several representations we find its surface decorated with circular beads and a string passed through the pointed end to bear a chain (Plate XLII*f*-1, XXXIX*b*-3). A grotesque bearded human head framed out of a conch and placed on a lotus seat is a characteristic subject (Plate L*e*). Another plaque shows a conch-head, the long end being fashioned into a peaked head dress, the volutes into the ears and moustache and the indentations at the broad end into the folds of the neck, so pointedly represented in Indian plastic art (Plate L*b*). The last figure of the conch in the last row of plaques in Plate XL would show a grotesque head if turned at right angles.

CHAPTER VI.

Minor Antiquities.

Of the antiquities discovered at Paharpur by far the largest number consisted of terracotta plaques which have been dealt with separately. Of the rest the most important finds are the inscribed copper-plate and stone inscriptions which throw some light on the chronology of the different periods. The earliest antiquity discovered is the copper-plate dated 159 Gupta Era (=479 A.D.) found in the clearance of the upper verandah in the north-east corner. It has been exhaustively dealt with in the article published in the *Epigraphia Indica*[1] and its transliteration and abstract may be consulted there. Here the topography and the geographical names mentioned in the plate may be briefly discussed.

The copper-plate records the purchase and grant by a Brahman couple of 1 *Kulyavāpa* and 4 *droṇavāpas* of land for the maintenance of the worship of Arhats and a resting-place at the Vihāra, presided over by the Jaina teacher Guhanandin and his disciples and disciples of disciples. This Vihāra, which was situated at Vaṭagohālī in the 5th century, must have been an establishment of local celebrity. It is interesting to see that the same name Vaṭagohālī is found in a fragmentary inscription on a mutilated copper-plate found at Baigram of which the companion plate is dated 128 G. E., *i.e.*, 448 A.D. or 31 years earlier than the Paharpur plate. The exact connection, in which Vaṭagohālī is mentioned in the Baigram plate, cannot be made out owing to the fragmentary nature of the plate, but its mention in a record from Baigram, which is about 20 miles to the north of Paharpur, is a sure indication that the two places Vāyigrāma and Vaṭagohālī must not be far distant from each other. The village of Vaṭagohālī was situated in the *Maṇḍala* of Nāgiraṭṭa and by the side of Palāśāṭṭa. Of these, the latter seems to have disappeared. Nāgiraṭṭa was apparently the headquarters of the *Maṇḍala* (sub-division) in which all the four villages from which land was to be given to the Vihāra were situated. In the Singra Thāna of the Rajshahi district exists a place called Nāgaṭpāra and it is possible that this was the Nāgiraṭṭa of the inscription. It is apparent that Nāgiraṭṭa covered a large area in the north-east of Rajshahi district. As for Jambudeva, the other circle (*praveśa*) which was situated within the same sub-division (*Maṇḍala*), it may possibly be identical with a place called Jambuvana near Pañchbibi, about 12 miles north of Paharpur

In the seventh century, when anarchy reigned supreme in Bengal, it appears that Jainism gradually disappeared in Bengal. The Guhanandi Vihāra at Vaṭagohālī must then have shared the fate of other Jaina establishments in the Puṇḍravardhana and Koṭivarsha districts. When peace was established and the Pāla empire was securely founded in North Bengal in the eighth century, the locality had already come to be known as Somapura and the magnificent temple and gigantic monastery established by the Pāla Emperor Dharmapāla came to be

[1] Vol. XIX, p 59 ff.

known after him. The community of monks in the new Vihāra may have obtained the royal permission to appropriate the land belonging to the Jaina Vihāra and kept the original charter in their possession. This supposition can alone explain the find of the plate among the ruins of the Buddhist Vihāra.

Of the light which the terracotta sealings have thrown on the understanding of the Paharpur establishment mention has already been made. Among the stone inscriptions the following may be mentioned :—

(1) A stone pillar with an inscription found in the north *Maṇḍapa* relating to the fifth year of King Mahendrapāla (Plate LXV*a*);
(2) Stone pillar inscription without mention of date or king, roughly contemporary with the first, found in the clearance of the *Maṇḍapa* on the north side (Plate LXV*c*);
(3) Stone pillar inscription found in the south-west part of the monastery, now in the Varendra Research Society Museum, Rajshahi (Plate LXV*d*);
(4) Stone pillar inscription found in the open area close to the eastern wing of the monastery (Plate LXV*b*).

The first three are records from the donations of pillars referring to either Buddha or the three jewels, although the first two belong to the tenth century A.D. and the last has been assigned on palæographic grounds to the twelfth century A.D. It is interesting to see that all the donors, of whom the first one is mentioned as a *Bhikshu*, have names ending in *garbha*, *viz.*, Ajayagarbha, Śrīgarbha and Daśabalagarbha. It is possible that these indicate one continuity or succession of monks who were at Somapura Vihāra. Two other inscriptions referring to monks from the same Vihāra are the Bodhgayā inscription in which a monk named Vīryendra originating from Samataṭa (south-east Bengal) is the donor and the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra, in which we find a succession of monks whose names ended in *mitra*, *viz.*, Karuṇāśrīmitra, Maitrīśrīmitra, and Vipulaśrīmitra and thus show the existence of a 'Mitra' lineage among the elders of the Somapura monastery. Another record on a pillar written in characters of the late 12th century found near the eastern monastery shows a fragmentary record of some person whose name ended in *nandin*. An inscription in characters not later than the eleventh century A.D. on a terracotta base of a votive *stūpa* at the Satyapir mound recording that it was the work and gift of the elder (*sthavira*) Praśāntamati acquaints us with the name of one more of these monks who resided at Somapura. In the Tibetan life of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa, the well-known Buddhist monk from Bengal, it is stated that he lived for years in the Somapura monastery and that his spiritual preceptor, Ratnākara-śānti, was the *sthavira* of the Vihāra. From Tibetan literary sources, it seems certain that the Somapura Vihāra was a famous place of pilgrimage among the Tibetan Buddhists throughout the centuries of its flourishing period, *i.e.*, ninth to twelfth century A.D. Unfortunately in Bengal itself, the revival of the Brāhmaṇical order under the Senas in the 12th century and the Muhammadan occupation in the 13th must have led to the decline and final extinction of this grand Vihāra, until the oblivion into which it sank for over 6 centuries was lifted during the British period.

The readings of the four inscriptions are as follows:—

Inscription of Mahendra Pāla, Plate No. LXV, fig. (*a*)—

l. 1. Oṁ Saṁvat 5 Śrāvaṇa dine 7

l. 2. Śrī Mahendra-Pāla-deva-rājye

l. 3. Bhichhu (kshu) Ajaya-gaṛbhēṇa Buddha-

l. 4. Bhaṭṭārakāya pradatta(ḥ) sta-

l. 5. ṁbho=yaṁ satv-ārtha-hetoḥ

NOTE.—The year of Mahendrapāla in which this inscription was engraved is somewhat early in his reign, but there can be no doubt about the reading. The figure has much resemblance with the modern Bengali 5 and, therefore, I take it that its value is undoubted. The figure for 7 is exactly similar to modern Bengali 7.

Inscription No. 2, Plate LXV, fig. (*c*)—

l. 1. [Bhadra da×] Śrī Ma-

l. 2. hila-suta-Śrī-śa

l. 3. hadevam=uddiśya

l. 4. stha [-] ra (sthavira) Śrīgarbhe

l. 5. ṇāryasaṅghāya[pra]

l. 6. datta[ḥ]staṁbho=[yaṁ]

NOTE.—This inscription is very badly engraved, and beyond the name Śrigarbha, the donor of the pillar, nothing further can be made out with certainty.

Inscription No. 3, Plate LXV, fig. (*d*), now in the Varendra Research Society—

l. 1. Oṁ ratna-traya-pramodena

l. 2. satvānā(ṁ*) hita-kāṅkshayā

l. 3. Śrī Dasa(śa)vala-garbheṇa sta-

l. 4. mbho=yaṅ=kārito varaḥ

NOTE.—The name of the person has been taken as Daśabalagarbha, as Daśabala is one of the names of Buddha, but neither the exigency of the metre nor the actual form of letters gives the clear reading Dasa. It is likely to be Dāsa. The vertical stroke at the end of the first line is joined with the last letter, while the independent vertical stroke standing at the end of line 2 ought to have been joined with the last letter. The translation of the verse would be

"With the gratification of the three jewels and with the desire of benefit of all sentient beings, the illustrious Daśabalagarbha caused this excellent pillar to be made."

Inscription No. 4, Plate LXV, fig. (*b*)—

l. 1. [Ga]ṅgapur-āvasthita le[kha]

l. 2. ...ta(na)..kkanandinaḥ.

NOTE.—This fragmentary inscription found on the octagonal shaft of a pillar in the compound of the monastery is a record in late 12th century characters. It has triangular nail heads at the top of each letter. It is not clear whether the first word refers to some place called Gaṅgapura or Gaṅgāpura, but apparently it is the place from which the *Lekhaka* or scribe emanated. The last line records the name of some person whose name may be Arkkanandin.

Metal images.—The metal images found at Paharpur form an insignificant lot as compared with those discovered at Nālandā and Kurkihar in Bihar and even the Buddhist bronze images from the Chittagong district. It is not quite easy to understand why Paharpur has failed to produce any specimens of this

art. Among the images figured in Plate LVIII, it will be seen that the most ornamental image is that of Hara-Gaurī (Plate LVIII*a*). This shows the god Śiva seated in *rājalīlā* on a double lotus seat. Of the four hands the upper right is carried to an inordinate length at the other end and apparently holds the handle of the trident. The lower left hand goes around the body of Pārvatī, and the lower right hand is held up to the chin of the goddess. The upper left hand holds what appears to be a lotus which must be the blue *utpala*. The background shows a beautiful eight-petalled flower, surrounded by a circular *prabhāvali* pointed at the top. The goddess is shown with her right hand round the neck of Śiva and holding a mirror with the left hand. Small images of Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya, the two sons of the divine couple, are shown on either side of the frame and below the feet of Śiva and Pārvatī stand their respective vehicles, the bull and the lion. The figure near the leg of the pedestal is apparently that of the donor. This work has on grounds of style to be attributed to the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century A.D.

The only Buddha image in bronze is that figured in Plate LVIII*b*, depicting him in the attitude of protection. The folds of the outer and inner garments are shown, but the god stands on a single lotus pedestal, and the figure is not well finished. In Plate LVIII*c* is shown a standing naked *Jina* flanked by two indistinct figures. Here, too, the pedestal is of the single lotus type. To the same class belongs the figure Kubera depicted in Plate LVIII*e*, which is even more badly preserved. The bronze figure of Gaṇeśa in Plate LVIII*f* is better executed than the other three images mentioned above. Gaṇeśa has a circular halo behind his head and a broad circular pedestal in three tiers on which he is seated in *rājalīlā*. The four hands of the deity are shown as holding a goad eatables, in the gift bestowing attitude (*varadamudrā*) and a *pāśa*, respectively.

Stucco.—A number of stucco heads were recovered from the south-west verandah of the main temple. This art, which is so prominent in the Gandhāra period, is represented in Bengal only by a few finds from Paharpur and Rangamati. The four heads shown in Plate LXIII apparently represent Buddha heads, but only one has been preserved more or less intact. The hair is shown in ringlets in two cases, while in the other two the *ushṇīsha* or protuberance on the head is shown. The *ūrṇā* is seen in one of the specimens and the long ear-lobes in all alike. The common feature of all the heads is the bulging or protruding eyelids.

Pottery.—A large number of specimens of the pottery used by the monks of Paharpur have been recovered from the excavations, and a few of the specimens have been illustrated in Plates LX to LXII. The pottery is not so varied as it would have been in the case of a city site, but in the absence of any large finds in the city sites of Bengal it is not yet possible to prepare a proper corpus of the pottery of Bengal. So far as Paharpur itself is concerned, no complete vessels were discovered from the earliest strata in the monastery area. What is preserved pertains mostly to the middle [illegible] the later periods roughly from the end of the tenth to the twelfth century A.D. One class of ware, which may

be attributed to the early Pāla period (about ninth century) is that decorated in the lower surface with cross lines, which in some cases, at any rate, seem to be impressions of rough canvas or gunny cloth on which the pots were placed while wet. In other cases, however, the cross hatchings seem to be regular and appear also on the sides. One vessel of this class was found near the earlier level of the courtyard close to the central block on the west wing of the monastery in which a quantity of shell lime was found, apparently brought for use in the construction of the drain nearby. A vast number of small fragments of this kind of pottery were found on the surface at Mahasthan and at Paharpur itself in the filling of the foundation of the large refectory hall in the southern courtyard. The large quantity of broken pottery used in fillings of a later period indicates that this material was available in large quantities of rubbish heaps.

The pottery found at Paharpur is generally well burnt to a red or buff green on which red slip was applied either in bands or on the entire surface except the bottom. Except in the case of large storage jars, which had a pointed or tapering bottom, resting on the floor of the living cells, other vessels had a broad base and a centre bulging out. A large number of the vessels with a narrow neck and mouth with a cylindrical or curving body shown in Plate LX are probably to be taken as inkpots. Some of these have a mouth aperture, from ¼" to ¾" in diameter, and have incised linear or floral decoration on the body. A large quantity of hand-made miniature vessels finished with a red slip (Plate LX*a*) have rounded bottom. Spouted vases or *loṭās* are also known (Plate LX*c*), and vessels with curvilinear body with a sharply turning bottom (Plate LX*c*, 1 and 5) are also known. Two vessels with a number of holes in rows (Plate LX*d*, 3 and 4) were probably used for keeping fire. A number of vessels shaped like modern *hāṇḍis* or cooking pots and *loṭās* are illustrated in Plate LXI, some of which are practically indistinguishable from types at present in use in the locality. Attention may be drawn to the specimen in Plate LXI*d*, 4, which has small lugs or projections at the bottom and a number of holes in the neck for suspension. In Plate LXI*e* are figured three spouted vases with long necks, the first of which is made of copper and the last shows certain lines in black drawn on the surface and on the neck.

Scores of lids of pottery and dishes and saucers have been found, some of which are illustrated in Plate LXII. A number of shallow broad-mouthed vessels, 2" to 3" in height and 6" to 7" in diameter, either in green or red ware, are known. Some of the lids are crowned by miniature *stūpa* shaped finial. Long cylindrical lamp stands shaped like modern glass chimneys with a rim at the bottom (Plate LXII, 20 and 23) are a noteworthy type. The interior is hollow and wheel turned, while the outside surface appears to have been trimmed to check. A number of vessels like saucers and dishes have rings attached to them. Lamps include a large variety of circular shell vessels with or without a projection at the rim near the wick (Plate LXII, 2 to 5). In some cases they have a thick outer rim either straight and shallow or deep (Plate LXII, 6 and 7). In the latter case it appears that water was kept in the outer circle. Long double folded rolls with slightly raised ends pressed in the middle (Plate LXIV*e*, 3)

were also apparently used as lamps and several such examples have been found.

Terracottas include crude female figures standing on a hollow circular base with almost straight arms, some of which are finished with a red slip (Plate LXIVc, 1 to 3). A few of the figures are shown as holding a child or a pitcher round one arm almost reminding one of the similar Mohenjodaro figurines. The sides of the face are merely flattened by a pinch and except the projection forming the breast no attempt at modelling the figure has been made. A very small number of these figures can be considered as male, the vast majority being female. The model animals include crude figures of horses (Plate LXIVb) and bulls; bird-rattles (Plate LXIVe) with spherical bodies and points at either end representing the head and tail of the bird and a long projection or handle representing the leg are among the noteworthy finds.

A very large number of terracotta parts of finials composing the structures of votive *stūpas* have come from Satyapir Bhiṭā mound and from the neighbourhood of the miniature replica of the main temple (Plate LXIVe, 4 to 6). They are apparently meant to be placed one above the other with a metal rod centrally placed holding them all in position. Most of them are plano-convex in shape, of which the back is 12″ in diameter, and 1½″ thick with a central hole 2½″ in diameter. Finials bigger than these were apparently made in four pieces, of which some are shaped like a quadrant with incised marks for the direction of masons. The radius of the lowest or biggest of the series of finials is 12½″, the thickness 1¾″ and the radius of the central mortice hole 3½″. The smallest parts of the finial are double convex-shaped with a central hole, of which the height is only 2″, the mortice hole in the middle being 1″ in diameter at its lowest and 3″ at the widest. The smallest bricks of the cylindrical shape are ¼″ in diameter and 1⅛″ in height, the hole being 1½″ diameter. Pointed oval shaped bricks without holes, of various sizes, have also been found and must have something to do with the superstructure of these finials.

Among other classes of terracotta antiquities, dabbers of truncated cone shape from 2″ to 1″ diameter at the base (Plate LXIVd, 1 and 2), some with holes with suspensions at the top are found in large numbers. Bigger dabbers with broader tops to serve as handles are also found, several of these being made of stone instead of terracotta (*cf.* S. P. 211). A large number of flat discs or tablets are found here, as also at Mahasthan site on the surface varying in diameter from 3″ to 1″. Several of these have holes bored in the centre which can be considered as spindle whorls. Other common antiquities are the terracotta bulls of various sizes, coloured red, black or grey, some with incisions cut on the surface radiating from a central orb. Beads of terracotta of cylindrical or double-convex shape are found in large numbers, some of these being as long as 2¼″ (Plate LXII, 25).

The ornamentation on bricks found at Paharpur can be classified according to the period with which they are associated. To the early period, *i.e.*, period of the original construction of the temple, may be referred the stepped pyramid (*cf.* Plate LIIb), lotus petal, either simple or interlaced, the chess-board and the transverse alternate, wavy and straight linear ornamentation (Plate LXVIId & e).

To the second period or roughly the tenth and eleventh centuries are referable the following types:

(1) Rows of battlements divided by wavy lines or chain bands (*cf.* S. P. 194); (Plate LXIII*b*, 1).

(2) Deep-cut chevron with intermediate band of rectangles filled by hatching;

(3) Rectangular medallion with half lotuses (*cf.* S. P. 308);

(4) Half round bricks with shallow incision showing a central stem with double leaves (*cf.* S. P. 283); (Plate LXIII*a*, 1).

(5) Incised design of rectangular bricks consisting of honey-suckle ornament (*cf.* S. P. 346).

To the latest class of ornamental brick-work belong the quatrefoil and floral tracery (Plate LXIII*a*, 2 and 3; *b*, 2 and 3). The full lotus medallion (Plate LXIII*c*, 2) and the pointed ogee arch mouldings, which are generally cut in bricks of the small size, measure $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2''$ or $5'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ or $6'' \times 4''$; these last are to be attributed to the early Pathān period and generally come from the surface in the main site or from a late structure beyond the enclosure to the south-east.

Among the household stone objects may be mentioned grinding mills, mortars and pestles and curry stones. Of the first, two types, *viz.*, a light and heavy type, and a high and narrow type can be distinguished. The former is represented by a bottom piece, 17″ in diameter with a square boss at one side, and a hole for fixing the handle at the centre. The mouth where grist was supplied is 3″ in diameter. The entire height of the stone is 5″. The other type is represented by several specimens which are at least 6″ in height and generally 9″ in diameter. There is a cross chase at the top but there is no arrangement for fixing a handle and it appears that the whole stone was moved direct by the hand. Curry stone pieces, of which there are at least eight or ten, are rectangular with a depression in the middle due to use, the crushers being generally long pieces which have been found along with the curry stones.

CHAPTER VII.

Satyapir Bhiṭā.

Satyapir Bhiṭā.—The Satyapir Bhiṭā mound is situated to the east of the main establishment at Paharpur at a distance of about 300 yards from the eastern exterior wall of the Mahāvihāra. The legend of Satyapir, whose Hindu counterpart is Satyanārāyaṇa widely worshipped now in India particularly in connection with the fulfilment of vows or desired objects, is of recent growth and the popular stories about this Muslim saint, and his immaculate birth from Sandhyāvatī, daughter of king Maḥidala or Mahidalan, have as little foundation on fact as the supposed Purāṇic authority for the cult of Satyanārāyaṇ. It appears that when the original traditions relating to the Buddhist establishment had been forgotten, the local population, who by the 16th or 17th century might have been gradually converted to Islam, began to attach to the unintelligible remains, the stories connected with the holy men of their new-found faith, exactly in the same way as the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are connected with a number of places which are unintelligible to the local Hindu population or as the legend of Chānd Saudāgar popularised after the cult of Manasā grew in Bengal. The antiquity of the present name of Satyapir Bhiṭā may, therefore, be not considered as earlier than the 17th or 18th century.

There is reason to suppose that the Satyapir Bhiṭā contains the remains of what must have been at one time well known as the temple of Tārā and the vast number of votive shrines around it that testify to the fame and sanctity of this temple. The mound here was a flat low eminence rising to a height of only 6 to 7 ft. in the centre with very gradual fall towards the sides, particularly in the north and south. The find of bricks, terracotta plaques and heaps of broken pottery indicated the presence of some important ruins in this area. Two trees of considerable size that had taken root in the highest point of the mound appeared on closer examination to have held in grip some masonry that stood above the rest of the surface. The excavation of the years 1932-33 and 1933-34 have laid bare the outlines of the main temple and a number of votive structures of various sizes and designs were ranged round the paved courtyard of the temple (Plate LXVI). The construction of the floor of the main temple and the concreted pathways of the courtyard was so solid that although they must have been abandoned to their fate about the same time as the main temple site about seven centuries ago, there has been very little growth or accumulation of débris over the top and the structures here are in a better state of preservation.

The main temple is an oblong structure facing south, 48′ in width from east to west and at least 80′ in length from north to south. The main repairs, additions, and reconstructions, which the temple successively underwent, appear to have been in the direction of the north and south and the general direction of the votive *stūpas* built within its court is north to south (Plate LXVIII *a*). The compound wall enclosing the whole has not been traced on the north but on the

east and west it runs in an almost unbroken length of over 250 and 300 ft., respectively. The site at the disposal of the builders here appears to be trapezoidal in shape, the present north boundary being about 187 ft. in width, while the southern boundary wall is about 140 ft. in length. The orientation of the votive structures built by the sides is parallel to the boundary wall and thus makes an angle with the centre line of the main shrine and the rows of *stūpas* built in its immediate vicinity. The approach to the whole area and also to the main temple was on the south which, as stated above, is the narrowest side. In front of the main temple and of the projection that marked its front at a distance of about 130 ft., there stood a building, 36′ square, which subsequently served the purpose of an Entrance Hall when the enclosure wall on the south was added (Plate LXVIII *a*). The internal arrangements of this hall are not quite clear. It appears to have been connected by a brick-on-edge pathway with the outside and here a finely laid brick floor divided into compartments by brick-on-edge indicates the importance attached to this Entrance Hall at a later period. Another important building also of the early period which has been unearthed to its east in the extreme south corner, consists of a central corridor flanked by three rooms each on the south and north (Plate LXVII *b*). These two buildings ante-date the present compound wall, which has been found to have been built in two periods, on an almost identical alignment.

Coming back to the main temple, it appears to have consisted of two main parts, the main shrine or sanctum in the northern portion and a pillared hall on the south around which was carried the circumambulatory path (Plate LXVIII *a*). Beyond this, there are traces of a porch or vestibule from which a flight of stairs led to the paved court in front. At a later date was built a buttress wall enveloping the walls of the original temple on the sides and carrying the projection in front of the temple still farther, thereby covering up the earlier flight of steps. In course of this reconstruction a fresh concrete floor was laid almost throughout the courtyard and over the main temple. At the back of the north side, a wall farther projecting against the outer face of the buttress wall is traceable. The late brick-work visible on the surface even before excavation, which was enmeshed by the roots of a big tree appears to be an isolated structure probably of the Muhammadan period, as appears from the use of lime mortar in its construction. The earlier walls pass underneath this on either side, but the extrication of the different periods of masonry in this part of the mound is a well-nigh impossible task. The structures of the last period with their very solid concrete floor and the stone pillar bases, four out of eight of which have been preserved, are almost entirely reconstructed on the old walls. The floor of the older structure, which seems to have been destroyed by fire from the large quantity of charcoal lying on the floor at the north-eastern end, is intact. The difference between the earlier and the later floors is 3 ft. but that between the two concrete floors found in the courtyard is about a foot. Thus, it appears, that while there was little difference in the height between the original court and the original temple, the plinth of the later main shrine was raised to a greater height as compared with the courtyard.

For the identity of the temple a valuable clue has been obtained by the find of about 50 circular terracotta plaques with a figure of an eight-handed goddess and inscribed with the Buddhist creed (Plate LIX *n*), in different places in the courtyard in the south and south-west of the main temple. The goddess is undoubtedly to be identified with one of the forms of Tārā possibly Sitātapatrā. The two normal hands of the goddess are in boon-bestowing attitude and resting on the thigh respectively. Of the other three upper hands on right side, one seems to hold a *Śakti* or arrow, another may have the bow and the uppermost possibly a wheel. Of the left hands, except the lasso in the lowest, nothing can be made out. The objects in the hands are supposed to be such as will remove a particular danger from the path of the devotee and it is but natural that the goddess Tārā who is invoked for the protection from eight-fold dangers (*viz.*, shipwreck, lightning, thieves, snakes, wild elephants, lions, prison and demons) should have a corresponding number of hands. The date of the plaques found at Satyapir Bhiṭā, which is indicated by the Mahāyāna creed inscribed around the effigy of the goddess, is roughly the 11th century. Such plaques have not so far been discovered in the excavations of the main temple at Paharpur and it would be reasonable to assume that the find in Satyapir Bhiṭā is due to the fact that the temple here was dedicated to this deity. Fortunately, there is epigraphical confirmation of the establishment of the temple of Tārā at Somapura, where according to the Nālandā inscription[1] of Vipulaśrīmitra, for the eradication of the eight-fold dangers of the world he built there a temple of Tārā with a court and a tank attached. No trace of the last is obtainable but the court together with its compound wall of the last period may be ascribed to the monk Vipulaśrīmitra who in the Nālandā inscription claims the credit for its construction. The temple was, however, in existence long before the time of Vipulaśrīmitra in twelfth century A.D. and what he may have been responsible for is the reconstruction of the main temple at Satyapir Bhiṭā and the provision of the solid concrete pathway around just as he stated to have carried out extensive renovation (*navīnakarma*) of the inner and outer sectors (*antar-bahiḥ-khaṇḍayoḥ*) of the four sides of the monastery.

The number of votive structures or *stūpas* built in the courtyard of the temple here is as large as 132. They present a wide variety of square, rectangular and circular votive shrines of various sizes and schemes of ornamentation (Plate LXVI). The largest among them is a circular *stūpa* of about 25′ diameter to the north-west of the main temple (No. 72) while the smallest is only 2′-9″ in diameter (No. 2). At the eastern border there are two rows of 14 and 7 *stūpas* respectively, of identical size (11′ 3″ square) and shape with a narrow passage between them (Plate LXVIII *c*). There are another nine in a row to the north of the main temple.

The earlier *stūpas* associated with the lower concrete floor are generally simpler in design consisting of a rectangular outline with a shallow projection in the middle on one side only and built either singly or in a group situated on a common platform (Plate LXVII *c* and LI). Another instance in which a

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXI, p. 97 ff.

number of *stūpas* stand on the same platform is to the east of the main temple (Plate LVIIII *b*). In this group Nos. 94-96 are identical in size and have only one projection on each side, but No. 97 is bigger in size with three projections on each side and is highly ornamented with a number of deep mouldings. At the south-eastern part of the compound stand a number of plain square and round structures (Nos. 123, 124, 128, 132) on a rectangular plinth with rounded corners. No. 84 at the north-east corner of the main temple is one of the biggest *stūpas* and was apparently held specially sacred, as it has been renewed more than once. The later types of structures tend to become more ornate both in their plan and superstructure and the projections are two or three in number and not confined to one side. In the two ranges of *stūpas* ranged on either side of the pathway leading to the temple and attributed to the last period, there are three ornamental projections on each side of the rectangular plan. A dozen *stūpas* mostly on the west side of the enclosure are circular in plan (Plate LXVIII *d*). The largest circular *stūpa* is a solid structure at the northern extremity of the site, where it is provided with a separate rectangular enclosure and is surrounded by 4 miniature round *stūpas*. To the east of this is another round but hollow structure with a concrete lining, which may have been a kiln.

One of the votive *stūpas* in the south-west sector (No. 34) is unique in that its outer decoration is made of tiers of moulded terracotta (Plate LXVIII *e*) with figures of Buddha seated in the attitudes (*mudrās*) known as 'earth-touching' (*bhūmi-sparśa*) and 'preaching' (*vyākhyāna*) in alternate rows (Plate LXIV *c*, 4). On the top of the basement moulding is an inscription in characters of about the eleventh century A.D. which reads *(deyadha)mmo-yaṁ sthavira-Praśāntamateḥ* meaning 'this (is the gift) of the elder Praśāntamati' (Plate LXVIII *d*).

The most interesting of the *stūpas* discovered in the Satyapir Bhiṭā compound is a square *stūpa* in the south-eastern section (No. 120) lying in a conspicuous position close to the main temple (Plate LXVIII *b*). This is a square structure, measuring 10′ 3″ on each side, and has several rows of ornamental brick mouldings decorating the exterior, which include the torus and dentil. When the interior of the *stūpa* was examined, within 2 feet from the top, a regular brick-built chamber, 3′ 6″ square, came to light. Such chambers were found in a few other *stūpas* as well (Nos. 104, 97, 24), but no deposits were found in any of them. The relic chamber of the *stūpa* was found to be wider at the bottom, there being 5 offsets in the walls. The filling of the interior appears to have consisted of pure dark alluvial clay, and at the bottom of the pit almost at the level of the surrounding ground was found a thick deposit of miniature votive clay *stūpas* numbering several thousands. It was at first difficult to separate the tiny *stūpas* lying together closely packed all over the relic chamber, particularly as long as they were moist; once separated; however, they quickly hardened. Each of the *stūpas* must have been prepared in a regular wooden mould. The traditional form of the *stūpa* with a broad moulding at the base, a cylindrical drum, a square *hti* and a pointed finial appears to have been faithfully adhered to even at this late period, although structural examples of the type must have ceased long ago (Plate LIX *i*). After the *stūpas* had left the mould,

the soft plastic mud appears to have been lightly touched with reddish *surkhi* (brick powder), so as to give the surface a finish. Inside each clod of earth pressed into the mould, were kept two tiny circular clay tablets placed face to face with minute lines of inscription (Plate LIX *k*), bearing the famous stanza of the Mahāyāna Buddhist creed, *viz., ye dharmā° °mahāśramaṇaḥ.* This sacred formula summarizing the doctrine of causation, which is the essence of Buddha's teaching, was looked upon as a real embodiment of the Faith[1] (*dharmaśarīra*) and thus probably did duty for the corporeal relics of the Master in these later times when it was impossible to obtain them. Seals bearing the creed formula are often found at the back of Buddhist bronze images. As in their case, it appears that each of the thousands of miniature *stūpas* was consecrated by the presence of these seal-relics and the offering of such a *stūpa* must have been considered by the pious devotee as an act of religious merit similar to the construction and dedication of a *stūpa*. It must have indeed been a great occasion when thousands of pilgrims visiting the great Somapura Vihāra and the Tārā temple, must have solemnly offered these miniature tokens of their reverence and deposited them in this *stūpa*. Such *stūpas* encasing seals with the Buddhist creed have been found also at other Buddhist centres such as Nālandā, Sārnāth, Mirpurkhas, etc. Three terracotta plaques with the figure of the Buddha in meditation also illustrate the same idea of consecration by means of seals bearing the Buddhist creed and other inscriptions. As one of these plaques was being washed, it was found that there was a circular hollow $\frac{3}{4}''$ deep on the back, filled with earth, which when removed disclosed the existence of two seals ($\frac{1}{8}''$ in diameter) placed face to face. Apparently these seals were placed inside the cavity before the firing of the plaque, as they are only partially burnt. These two seals (Plate LIX *d* and *e*) show a formula inscribed on them which, though known from certain other sites, such as Bodhgayā (*cf.* Nos. B. G. 168 and B. G. 172 in the Indian Museum Collection) and Nālandā, has not yet been published. It runs as follows :—

Oṁ. Trāyadhvaṁ sarvva-tathāgata hṛidaya-guhāṁ (| *) *jvala dharma dṛiḍha-guhāṁ saṁhara āyuṁ saṁśodhaya pāpaṁ Oṁ sarva-tathāgata-samant-ōshṇīshaṁ vimala-viśuddha svāhā.*

This formula with certain modifications has also been found by Dr. Giuseppe Tucci in Western Tibet[2] and must have been popular in later Northern Buddhism.

Among the other antiquities discovered at the Satyapir Bhiṭā mention must be made of three remarkable pieces of glazed polychrome pottery with chocolate and white floral ornament or white and green foliated leaves on a brown background (Plate LX *d*, 1 and 2). This is utterly different from any other ware found at Paharpur or other sites in Bengal and must be considered as an aberrant type. Besides the Tārā plaques, a bronze statuette of Jambhala is the only other Buddhist image found (Plate LVIII *e*). A quantity of crystal beads (Plate LXII 28), a number of finials being perhaps the crowning ornaments of the votive *stūpas* and carved bricks and plaques constitute the other principal antiquities recovered from the site.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XXI, p. 196-97.
[2] *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. I, p. 74.

APPENDIX.

List of selected Antiquities found at Paharpur.

(a) *Metal objects.*

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 802 . . .	Bronze image of Gaṇeśa, seated with one leg pendant in *mahārājalīlā* pose. Height 3·7″. Four hands hold, respectively, radish with leaves, axe, rosary and sweets which the god seems to be taking with trunk. Halo behind head. His vehicle rat is seen below. (Plate LVIII*f*).
P. 673 . . .	Bronze image of Umā-Maheśvara. Height 5·7″. Śiva seated on lotus, with Umā on his left thigh (*Umāliṅgana-mūrti*). Below them are miniature figures of bull and lion—the vehicles of the god and goddess. Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya are seen on two sides and on pedestal probably the donor (Plate LVIII*a*).
P. 901	Bronze image of Tīrthaṅkara standing on a pedestal. Height 3″. His hair is gathered into a top-knot and tied. (Plate LVIII*c*).
P. 843A . . .	Copper bangle. Diameter 2·3″.
P. 1309 . . .	Copper inkpot or casket with lid. Diameter 1·2″. Two groups of double holes on lid. (Plate LXI*e*, 1).
P. 836 . . .	Part of a copper frame. Height 3·1″.
P. 876 . . .	Copper bangle. Diameter 2″.
P. 1072 . . .	Small copper cup with a hole in the pointed base. Diameter 1·9″.
P. 1400 . . .	A pair of copper bangles. Diameter 2·4″.
P. 889 . . .	Part of a bronze sheet inscribed with the Buddhist creed—*Ye dharmā*, etc. Size 5·8″×1·3″. (Plate LIX*m*).
P. 614 . . .	Small spear-head of iron. Length 2·1″.
P. 1253 . . .	Fragmentary spear-head of iron. Length 5·4″.
P. 738 . . .	Fragmentary iron ladle. Length 8·1″.
P. 25 . . .	Miniature copper bell. Height 1·5″.
P. 25 . . .	Part of a flat rod of copper. Length 3·8″.
P. 761 . . .	Bronze image of Buddha with his right hand in 'varada' pose. Height 3·3″. (Plate LVIII*b*).
P. 76 . . .	Gilt copper plate, part of halo of an image. Size 10·3″×4·5″.
P. 33 . . .	Head of an iron spade. Length 6·6″.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(*a*) *Metal objects*—contd.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 26 . . .	Two arrow heads of iron. Length 4·9″ and 3·8″.
P. 108 . . .	Leaf shaped iron object with a hole at one end. Length 5″.
P. 276 . . .	Rectangular iron sieve with four small holes at corners and one at the centre. Size 4·5″×4″.
P. 13 . . .	Copper plate (size 7·5″×4·5″) dated 159 of the Gupta Era (=478-79 A. D.). Edited in *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 59.
P. 1156 . . .	An iron nail. Length 6·1″.
P. 724 . . .	Ring handle of a copper pan. Diameter 3·4″.
P. 715 . . .	An iron nail with one end flat. Length 6·6″.
P. 453 . . .	A miniature bronze image of Kubera. Height 1·8″. (Plate LVIII*e*).

(*b*) *Coins.*

Register No.	Weight and size.	Description.	Remarks.
P. 319 .	w. 186·0 s. 1·0	Round copper coin. Three fishes and bull type .	(Plate LVIII*g*).
P. 319 .	w. 172·6 s. 1·10	Round copper coin. Three fishes and bull type.	
P. 319 .	w. 156·5 s. 1·10	Round copper coin. Three fishes and bull type.	
P. 319 .	w. 35·0 s. ·70	Round copper coin. Vigrahapāla-dramma.	(Plate LVIII*g*).
P. 270 .	w. 157·3 s. ·75	Round copper coin.	
P. 558 .	w. 174·0 s. 1·0	Round silver coin of Sher Shāh without mint. A. H. 946=A. D. 1540.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 655.
P. 558 .	w. 167·6 s. 1·0	Round silver coin of Sher Shāh. Jahānpanah (?) mint. A. H. 947=A. D. 1541.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 627.
P. 558 .	w. 171·2 s. 1·10	Round silver coin of Sher Shāh. Jahānpanah (?) mint. A. H. 948=A. D. 1452.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 630.
P. 558 .	w. 172·0 s. 1·15	Round silver coin of Sher Shāh. Ujjain mint. A. H. 949=A. D. 1543.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 653.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(*b*) *Coins*—contd.

Register No.	Weight and size.	Description.	REMARKS.
P. 558 .	w. 172·2 s. 1·05	Round silver coin of Sher Shāh. Shergarh mint. A. H. 950=A. D. 1544.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 649.
P. 558 .	w. 173·0 s. 1·05	Round silver coin of Sher Shāh. Shergarh mint. A. H. 951=A. D. 1545.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 650.
P. 558 .	w. 174·5 s. 1·10	Round silver coin of Islām Shāh. Gwalior (?) mint. A. H. 956=A. D. 1550.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 788.
P. 558 .	w. 173·3 s. 1·30	Round silver coin of Islām Shāh. A. H. 959= A. D. 1553.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 810.
P. 558 .	w. 175·5 s. 1·30	Round silver coin of Bahādur Shāh without mint. A. H. 964=A. D. 1557.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 230.
P. 558 .	w. 176·0 s. 1·30	Round silver coin of Bahādur Shāh without mint. A. H. 965=A. D. 1558.	The date A. H. 965 is not represented in any specimen in *I. M. C.*
P. 558 .	w. 176·6 s. 1·30	Round silver coin of Bahādur Shāh without mint. A. H. 968=A. D. 1561.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 233.
P. 558 .	w. 179·0 s. 1·30	Round silver coin of Dāūd Shāh Karrāni. Tānda mint. A. H. 980=A. D. 1573.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 236. The date is clear in this specimen.
P. 558 .	w. 174·5 s. 1·25	Round silver coin of Dāūd Shāh Karrāni. Tānda mint. A. H. 981=A. D. 1574.	*Cf. I. M. C.* No. 237.
P. 558 .	w. 175·8 s. ·95	Round silver coin of Akbar the Great. Lahore mint. A. H. 980=A. D. 1573.	*Cf. I. M. C.* Vol. III, No. 286.
P. 1919 .	w. 43 s. ·95	Thin round silver coin of Hārūn-ur-Rashīd, Sulṭān of Baghdād Mint. Muḥammadiya Date 172 A. H. (=788 A. D.).	(Found at the surface).
P. 2009 .	s. ·9	Copper coin of Ḥussain Shāh, Sharqi, Sulṭān of Jaunpur.	(Surface).

(*c*) *Stone Antiquities.*

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 1147 . . .	Image of Revanta in black basalt, height 4·9"; wears boots seated gracefully on caparisoned horse, holding its reins in left hand and a sword in his right. At the back of the horse attendant holding an umbrella over the head of the god.
P. 1011 . . .	Unfinished soapstone image of Buddha, seated cross-legged in the attitude of *bhūmisparśa*. (height 4·4"). Inferior workmanship and execution.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(c) *Stone Antiquities*—contd.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 885 . . .	Stone image of Manasā four-handed, seated on lotus with the right leg pendant (height 5·8″). Canopy of seven hoods over head ; holds snake in her right hand, and child on her lap. (About eleventh century A. D.).
P. 729 . . .	Steatite figure possibly Mañjuśrī (height 2·4″) seated on double lotus in *mahārājalīlā* posture. Fully ornamented and draped. Head partly damaged.
P. 841 . . .	Stone Bodhisattva head (height 4·1″) with conventional curls. Wears prominent earrings. Tip of nose and right eye damaged. Traces of crimson paint visible.
P. 840 . . .	Lower part of a black stone image. (height 2·9″). Only portion of feet survives on pedestal. Beneath pedestal probably donor, with folded hands.
P. 1104 . . .	A rectangular stone slab (2·8″×2·3″) representing crude pot-bellied figure.
P. 803 . . .	Corner of a black stone panel (height 5·9″) depicting a flower bearing figure fully draped and ornamented.
P. 1031 . . .	A stone pestle (height 4·9″).
P. 1223 . . .	One wheel of a grinding stone (?) (height 4·7″).
P. 1140 . . .	Stone fragment depicting the legs (height 7·5″) of two unfinished figures standing side by side on pedestal carved with rosettes.
P. 1077 . . .	Damaged relief depicting a male and a female figure with a small child (height 1′ 10″). Probably Vasudeva and Devakī with Kṛishṇa. (Plate XXXIII*d*).
P. 1366 . . .	Lower part of a damaged stone pillar (height 2′ 7·5″) bearing votive inscription in two lines in the Proto-Bengali characters of about eleventh century A. D. (Plate LXV*d*).
	(*d*) *Beads.*
P. 701 . . .	A small cubical bead of chalcedony.
P. 1367 . . .	A bead of banded agate (·4″ long).
P. 1403 . . .	A round bead of banded agate.
P. 930 . . .	A nut-shaped agate bead (·9″ long).
P. 955 . . .	A round bead of agate (·6″ long).
P. 1217 . . .	A nut-shaped carnelian bead (·8″ long).
P. 1408 . . .	A small carnelian bead.
P. 647 . . .	A flat lozenge-shaped carnelian bead (·5″ long).

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(*d*) *Beads*—contd.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 1113 . . .	A crystal bead.
P. 1070 . . .	A hexagonal crystal bead (·5″ long).
P. 1378 . . .	A round unperforated stone bead.
P. 856 . . .	A round bead of red stone.
P. 957 . . .	Half of a stone bead (·5″ long).
P. 811 . . .	A rectangular stone bead (·9″ long).
P. 771 . . .	A round bead of white stone.
P. 1287 . . .	A beetle-shaped clay bead.
P. 1323 . . .	A beetle-shaped unperforated clay bead.
P. 892 . . .	A clay bead with a big perforation (·7″ long).

(*e*) *Stucco Objects.*

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 52 . . .	Head. (height 4·5″.) Hair arranged in a top-knot. In excellent preservation. (Plate LXIII*d*).
P. 39 . . .	Fragmentary head with curly hairs. (height 4·5″.) Right side and tip of nose missing.
P. 47 . . .	Head of a monkey. (height 4″.)
P. 17 . . .	Fragmentary head. (height 3·7″.) Hair falling in locks and confined within a fillet. Right side damaged.
P. 29 . . .	Buddha head with hair tied up in a top-knot. (height 4·3″.) Features much worn. Traces of lime wash visible.
P. 35 . . .	Head, with curly hairs. (height 4·7″.) Right ear slightly damaged.
P. 73 . . .	Head. (height 4·4″.) Right side missing. Hair disposed in curls above forehead. A good specimen.
P. 65 . . .	Head. (height 4·5″.) Traces of lime wash and red paint.
P. 57 . . .	Head. (height 4″.) Hair confined within a twisted band. Nose and left ear damaged.
P. 59 . . .	Head. (height 2·1″.) Ears damaged. In excellent preservation.
P. 10 . . .	Stucco lotus. (diameter 2·5″.)
P. 12 . . .	Buddha head with *ushnīsha*. (height 4″.)
26/403 . . .	Head with hair gathered into a top-knot. (height 4″.)

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(*e*) *Stucco Objects*—contd.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 49 . . .	Buddha head. (height 4·7″.) Hair parted in the middle by an incised line. Nose and right ear damaged. Shows long earlobe.
P. 30 . . .	Head. (height 3·9″.) Hair falling in locks above forehead. Left ear damaged.
P. 30 . . .	Buddha Head. (height 4·1″.) Wavy hair gathered into a top-knot and tied. Tip of nose and left eye damaged.
P. 40 . . .	Head. (height 4·3″.) Hair tied together by a band fillet indicated by dots. Top-knot damaged. Traces of lime visible.
P. 7 . . .	Head of an elephant (god Gaṇeśa ?). (height 4·3″.) Prominent *ūrṇā*. Badly damaged.
P. 46 . . .	Torso of a female figure. (height 6·7″.) Part of necklace survives.
P. 20 . . .	Torso of a female figure. (height 5·6″.) Wears a necklace with a big pendant at the middle.
P. 28 . . .	Fragment (length 4·1″.) Showing left hand of a figure, probably seated cross-legged with left hand on knee.
	(*f*) *Terra-cotta Sealings.*
P. 304	Clay sealing (diameter 1·9″) with legend in lower register,—l. 1 *Śrī-Somapurē* l. 2 *Śrī-Dharmapāla-deva-* l. 3 *mahā-vihārīy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya*, issued by the "community of the venerable monks belonging to the Great Vihāra of Somapura founded by Dharmapāla." In the upper register is the Dharmachakra "Wheel of the law" on a tiered pedestal flanked by two deer, symbolising the preaching of the first sermon by the Buddha. Below legend, full blown lotus and floral decoration. (Plate LIX*h*).
P. 314 . . .	Do. (diameter 2″).
P. 306 . . .	Four pieces of clay sealings of 'Dharmapāla-vihāra' type (*Cf.* No. P. 304*a*).
P. 302 . . .	18 sealings of Dharmasena (diameter 1·3″ to 8″). Legend: '*Dharmasenaḥ*' in characters of the tenth century A.D.; a conch above in the upper register.
P. 302 . . .	8 fragmentary sealings of Dharmasena. Legend: '*Dharmasenaḥ*' in characters of tenth century A. D.; a conch in the upper register.
P. 302 . . .	Fragmentary sealings of Dharmasena without conch. Legend: '*Dharmasena*' (Plate LIV*b*).
P. 302 (5 specimens)	Terra-cotta sealings of Siṁhasena. Legend: '*Sīhasena*' (Plate LIX*a*).
	(*g*) *Terra-cotta and pottery.*
P. 814 . . .	Buddha figure in relief, seated cross-legged (height 2½″) in *bhūmisparśa* posture. Buddhist creed inscribed beneath the lotus seat of Buddha. Head missing.
P. 1098 . . .	Buddha head (height 2·9″); hair drawn upwards.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(*g*) *Terra-cotta and pottery*—contd.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 1242 . . .	Buddha head (height 3") with hair bound in a top-knot.
P. 919 . . .	Head of a weeping figure (height 2·1").
P. 697 . . .	Head of a grotesque figurine (height 2·1").
P. 1363 . . .	Female figurine (height 3·4").
P. 532 . . .	Female figurine (height 3·7").
P. 562 . . .	Female figurine (height 3·4").
P. 629 . . .	Female figurine (height 3").
P. 713 . . .	Female figure (height 2·9").
P. 610 . . .	Model animal (height 2·1"). Hind leg broken.
P. 787 . . .	Toy animal (height 2").
P. 1155 . . .	Miniature toy animal (height 1·3").
P. 1222 . . .	Terra-cotta bird (Length 3·6").
P. 565 . . .	Fragmentary perforated brick, 9·7"×3·6"
P. 746 . . .	Bell-shaped terra-cotta lid (height 1·9").
P. 1199 . . .	Terra-cotta matrix (length 1·2") with cross hatchings. Probably meant for embossing pottery. Perforation through the handle (Plate LIX*j*).
P. 1090 . . .	Terra-cotta die for embossing. (length 2·3"). Face of die shows various designs. Hole through middle body for attachment.
P. 950 . . .	Top of terra-cotta finial (height 4·7"); buff-red ware with mica coating.
P. 1301 . . .	Top of black pottery finial (height 4") decorated with various designs.
P. 834 . . .	Top of finial (height 2·1"); mixed with sand and mica.
P. 1109 . . .	Terra-cotta rattle with handle (length 3·1"); light red ware with red slip.
P. 1385 . . .	Terra-cotta rattle (length 3") decorated with red paint; handle broken.
P. 920 . . .	Hand-made cup (length 3·2") with red slip on the inner side; ends broken.
P. 886 . . .	Hand-made cup (length 2·5") of peculiar shape. Two holes through edge for fastening it with thread.
P. 657 . . .	Fragmentary terra-cotta dabber (height 2·8").
P. 648 . . .	Potter's dabber (height 2·7").

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(*g*) *Terra-cotta and pottery*—contd.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 808 . . .	Terra-cotta dabber with a hole on its top (height 2·7″).
P. 1032 . . .	Terra-cotta dabber. (height 2″).
P. 991 . .	Globular terra-cotta bowl (height 3·1″) with narrow neck. Traces of red slip and various designs in black paint.
P. 795 . . .	Black cylindrical ink-pot (height 1·9″).
P. 1012 . . .	Double-convex vase. Neck broken (height 2·8″).
P. 1208 . . .	Double-convex pottery vase, (broken (height 2·4″).
P. 618 . . .	Shallow vase of black clay (height 2″).
P. 1139 . . .	Double-convex vase. Neck broken (probably an ink-pot). (height 1·1″).
P. 1320 . . .	Double-convex pottery vase (present height 1′ 6″). Neck broken.
P. 1065 . . .	Vase with incised decorations below neck. Neck broken.
P. 1252 . . .	Bell-shaped vase (present height 2·4″). Neck broken.
P. 1263 . . .	*Lota*-shaped vase (height 2·5″).
P. 1293 . . .	Long vase (height 3·2″). Rim slightly broken.
P. 1054 . . .	A globular vase. Neck broken (present height 2·6″).
P. 616 . . .	A globular vase with incised decorations over body. Neck broken.
P. 1172 . . .	Miniature vase (height 3″).
P. 865 . . .	Vase with a long neck (height 3·4″). Spout broken.
P. 533 . . .	Black bulging narrow-necked pottery vase (height 5·1″).
P. 912 . . .	A middle sized vase. (height 5·5″).
P. 1268 . . .	Globular vase. Neck broken (present height 5·4″).
P. 1202 . . .	Flask (height 7·5″).
P. 1286 . . .	Spouted vase (height 6·2″).
P. 1020 . . .	Spouted vessel. Neck broken (height 3″).
P. 858 . . .	Black pottery jar with splayed mouth (height 5″).
P. 1083 . . .	Jar with splayed mouth (height 5·5″).
P. 1315 . . .	Globular pottery vase (present height 2·5″). Neck broken.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

(*g*) *Terra-cotta and pottery*—contd.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 949 . . .	Round vase. Neck broken (present height 1·7″).
P. 1331 . . .	Miniature pottery *Kuza* (present height 2·4″).
P. 880 . . .	Black clay vase (present height 2·9″).
P. 578 . . .	Miniature vase with long narrow neck (present height 2·1″).
P. 896 . . .	Double-convex vase (present height 2·3″).
P. 777 . . .	Double-convex vase with narrow neck (height 2·4″).
P. 810 . . .	*Hāṇḍī*-shaped pottery vase (height 1·7″).
P. 692 . . .	Miniature hand-made terra-cotta vase (height 1·5″).
P. 1021 . . .	Flask-shaped clay vase (height 1·8″).
P. 789 . . .	Double-convex vase (height 1·7″) with incised bands around body. Neck broken.
P. 1068 . . .	Dish or saucer; slightly damaged (diameter 8·5″).
P. 959 . . .	Dish or saucer (diameter 8·4″).
P. 940 . . .	Pottery cup with straight side (diameter 8″).
P. 601 . . .	Miniature terra-cotta crucible (diameter 1·6″).
P. 859 . . .	Miniature hand-made bowl. Rim broken (diameter 2·1″).
P. 1288 . . .	Pottery bowl. Rim slightly damaged (diameter 3·4″).
P. 1348 . . .	Pottery bowl. Red wash visible (diameter 3·9″).
P. 1017 . . .	Miniature terra-cotta bowl (diameter 3″) with regular indentation on rim.
P. 1018 . . .	Miniature bowl. Notched rim slightly damaged (diameter 3·1″).
P. 581 . . .	Miniature cup with slightly notched rim (diameter 2·5″).
P. 1236 . . .	Dish (diameter 4·5″).
P. 1210 . . .	Dish with a base (diameter 3·8″).
P. 1297 . . .	Black pottery dish with base (diameter 3·4″).
P. 574 . . .	Dish (diameter 4″).
P. 649 . . .	Lid with handle or knob on the concave side (diameter 4·3″).
P. 585 . . .	Lid with knob on the concave side (diameter 5·5″).

APPENDIX—*concld.*

(*g*) *Terra-cotta and pottery*—concld.

Field Register No.	Description.
P. 829	Terra-cotta lamp (diameter 2·9″) with hollow inside meant for keeping water.
P. 1273 . . .	Terra-cotta lamp with three-ribbed edge (diameter 2″).
P. 736	A group of ten lamps (diameter 2·3″ to 3·4″).
P. 942	A group of 20 terra-cotta lamps (diameter 2·2″ to 2·6″).
P. 1350 . . .	Six terra-cotta lamps (diameter 2·2″ to 2·9″).
P. 706	Terra-cotta lamp-stand, broken (height 4·5″).
P. 1092 . . .	A lamp stand of clay (height 4·8″).
P. 698	A half round brick lid found over a cracked jar full of cowries. (The jar contained about 3½ seers of cowries (diameter 5·7″). *cf.* P. 698A.
P. 670	A brick lid with a knob-handle (diameter 4·1″).
P. 668	A brick lid with a knob-handle on slightly concave side (diameter 5·3″).
P. 620	A lid of brick with a knob-handle on the concave side (diameter 6·3″).
P. 1067 . . .	A fragmentary decorated brick with the head of a 'Makara' and various other designs (4·2″×3·6″).
P. 986	A square brick with lotus decoration (3″ square).

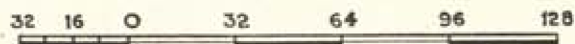
INDEX.


CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
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GROUND PLAN OF MAIN TEMPLE

SHOWING POSITION OF STONE RELIEFS



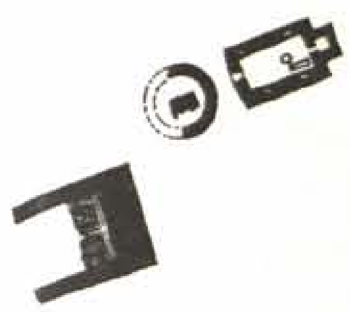


SCALE OF FEET

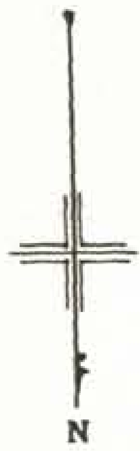
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Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

EXCAVATIONS AT PAHARPUR
DISTRICT RAJSHAHI
GENERAL PLAN







32 0 32 64 96 128 160 192

SCALE OF FEET


N

922'-0"

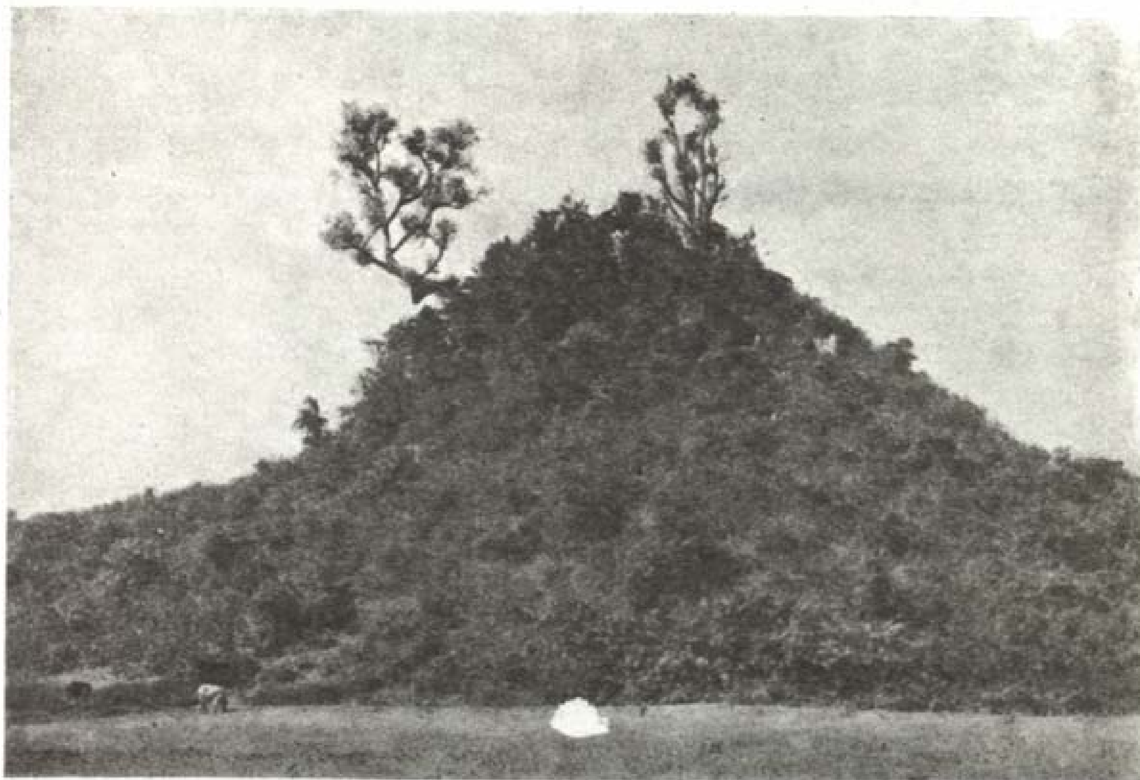
356'-6"

314'-3"

919'-0"



MAIN TEMPLE AT PAHARPUR
DISTRICT RAJSHAHI
NORTH ELEVATION
2nd F.L.
1st F.L.
Pr.G.L.
8 4 0 8 16 24 32 40 48
SCALE OF FEET

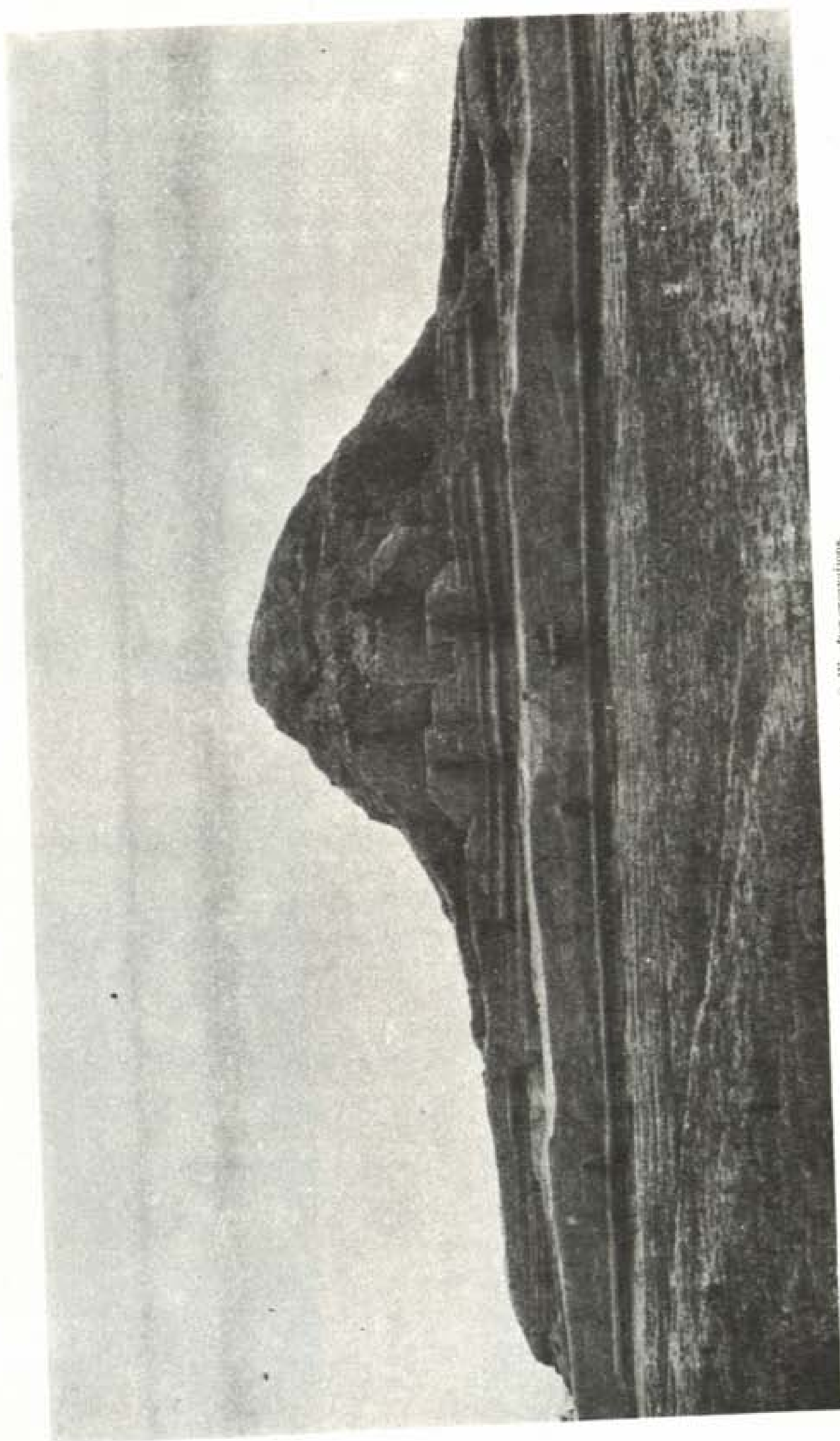


(a) Main Mound. Near view from S. W. before excavation.



(b) Main Mound. View from N. W. showing first excavated structures.

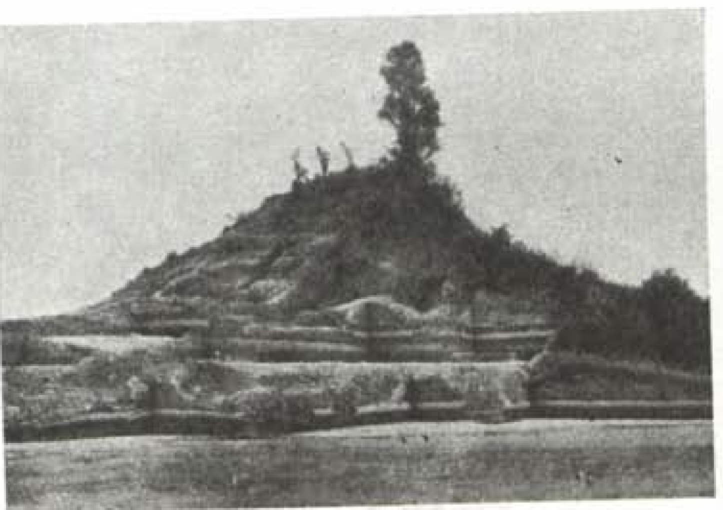
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India



Main Mound. View from S. W. after excavations.

Photo. Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE V



(a) Main Mound. View from N. W. before conservation.



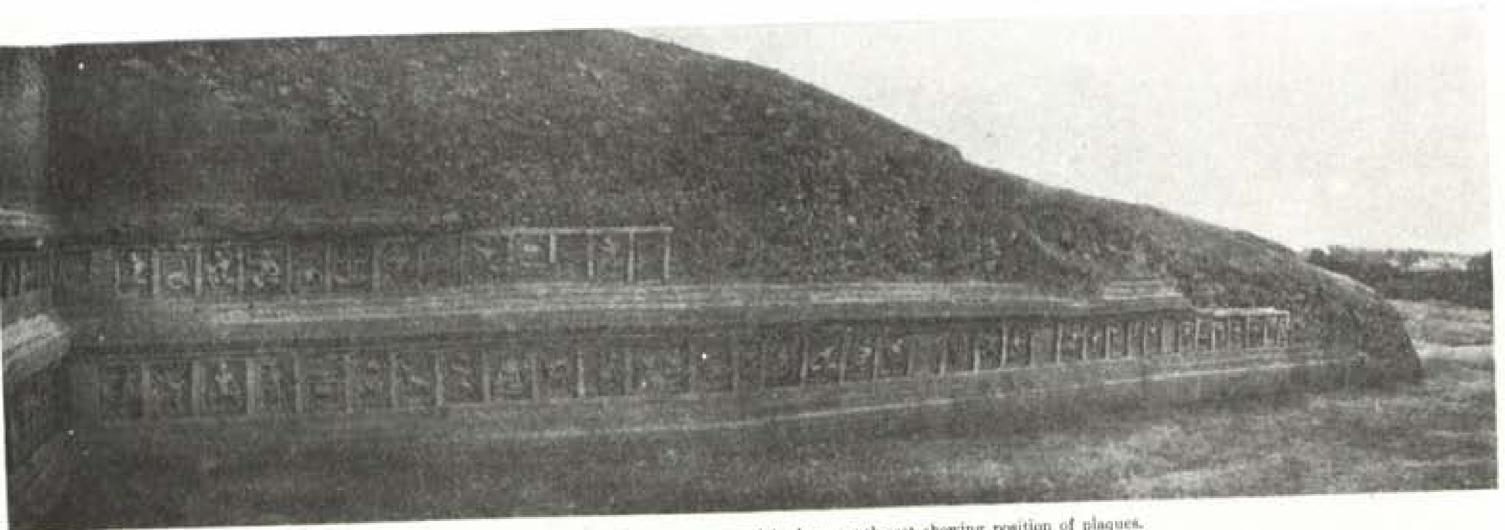
(c) Main Mound. View from north showing staircase.



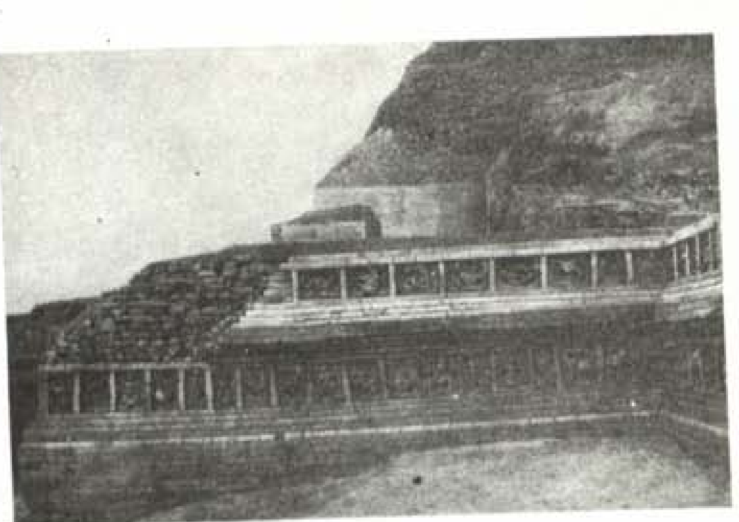
(b) Main Mound. View from S. E. after conservation.



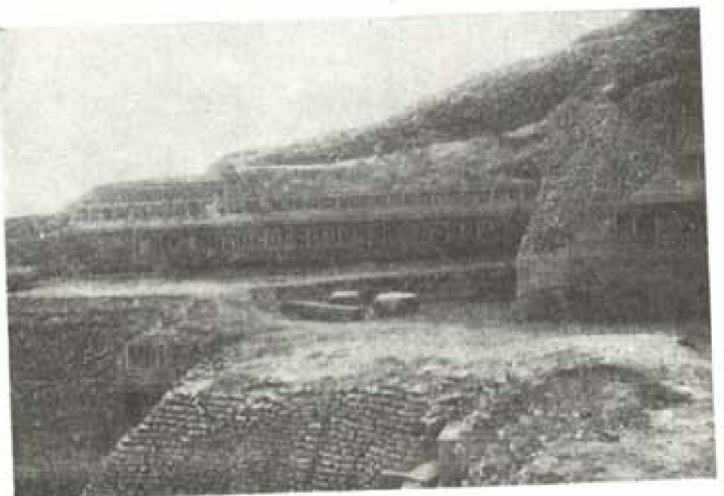
(d) Main Mound. View from east after conservation.



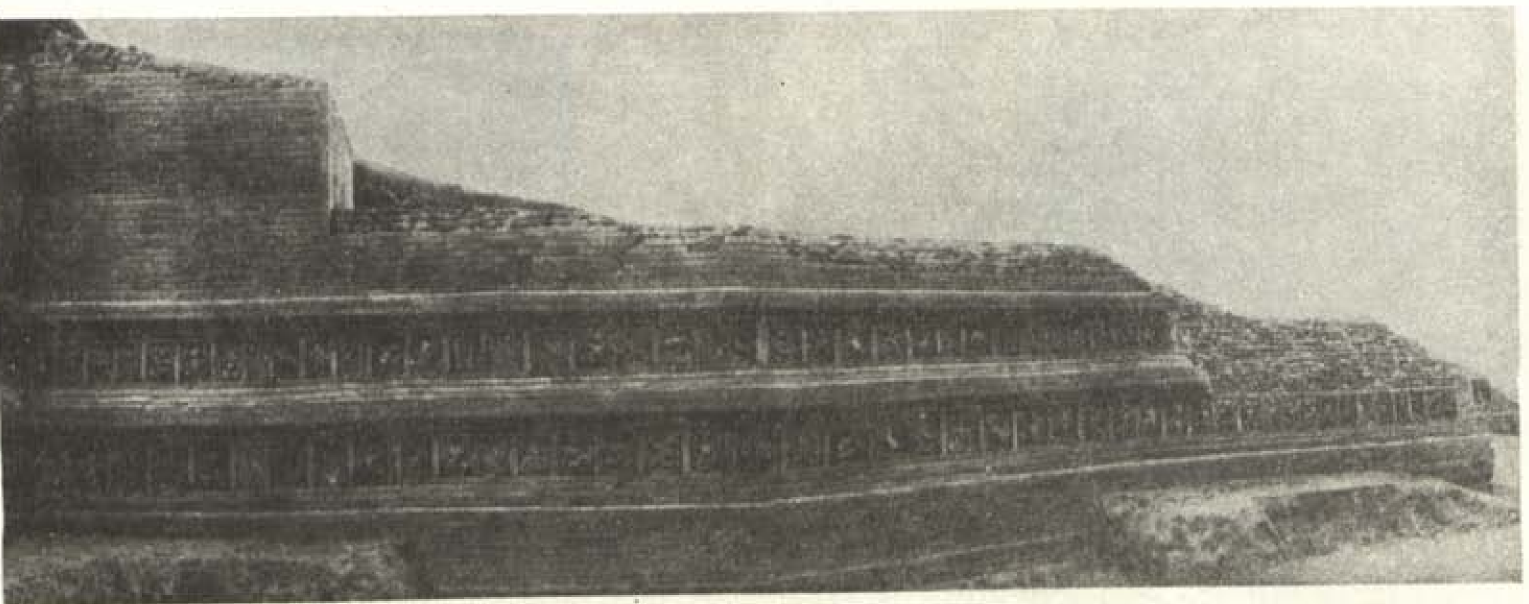
(a) Detail view of walls of first terrace verandah, from south-east showing position of plaques.



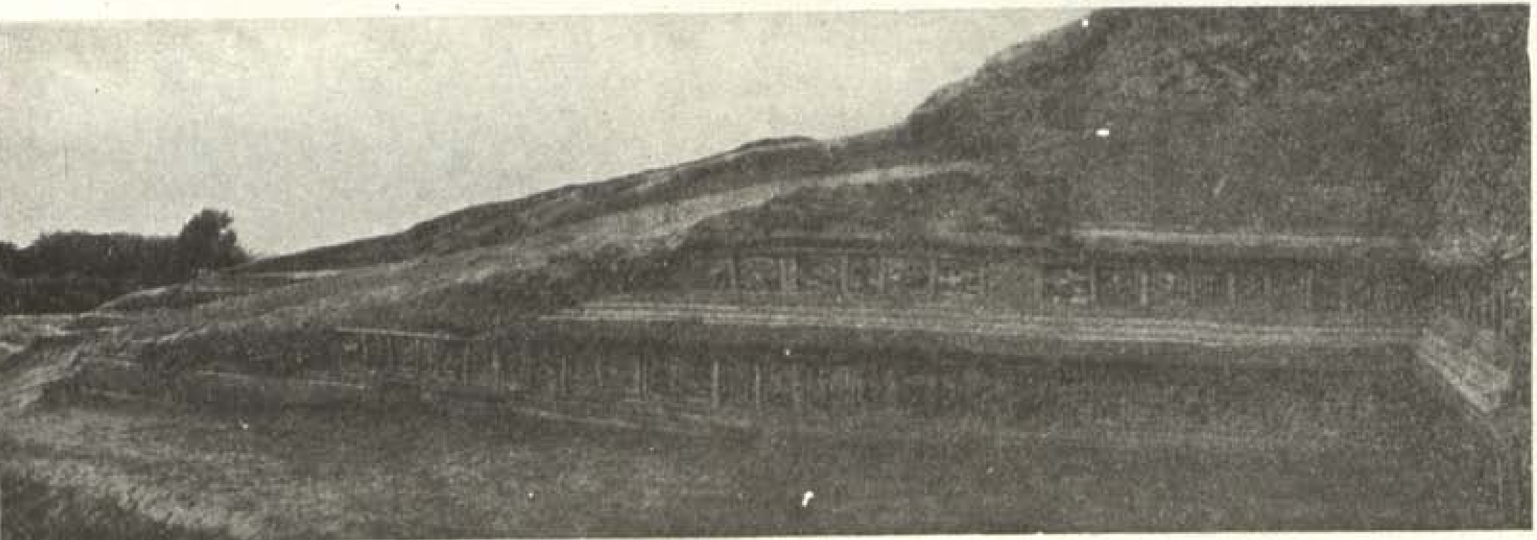
(b) View from north-west.



(c) View from north-east.



(a) Detail view of walls of first terrace verandah from north-west.



(b) Detail view of walls of first terrace verandah from south-east



(a) View of the Northern Hall before conservation.



(b) View of the Northern Hall after conservation.



(c) View of the Southern Hall before conservation.



(d) Southern ante-chamber wall showing blocked up flight of stairs.



(*a*) Circumambulating passage on Second Terrace. View from north.



(*b*) Circumambulating passage on Second Terrace. View from west.



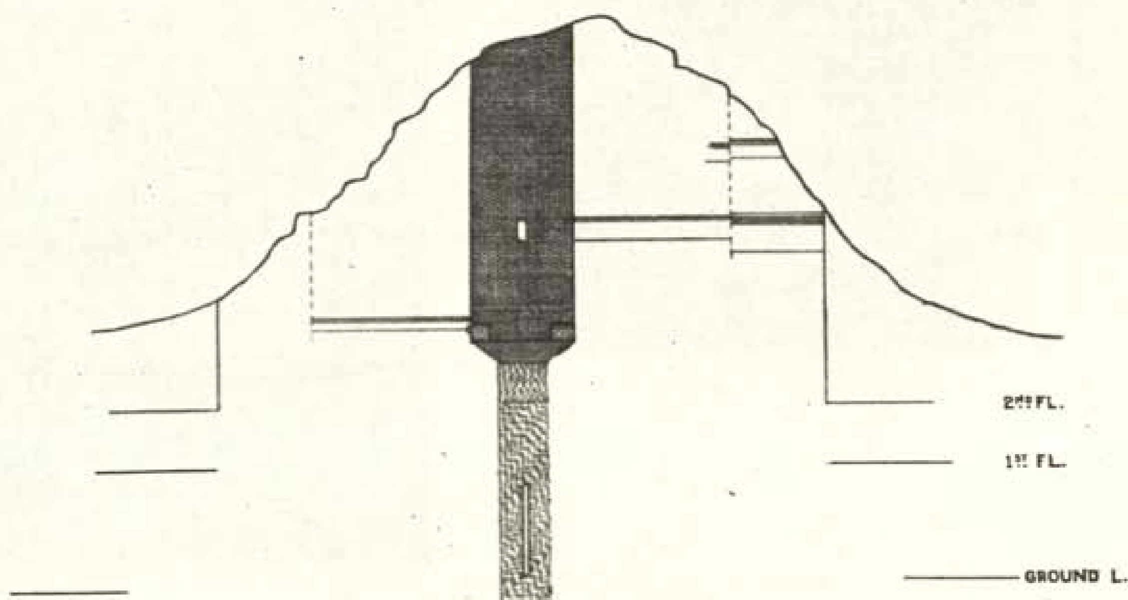
(*c*) Circumambulating passage on Second Terrace. View from south.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

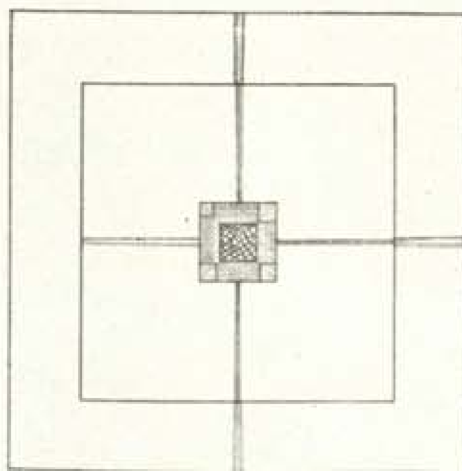
THE CENTRAL CHAMBER
OF THE
MAIN MOUND AT PAHARPUR

0 4 8 16 24 32

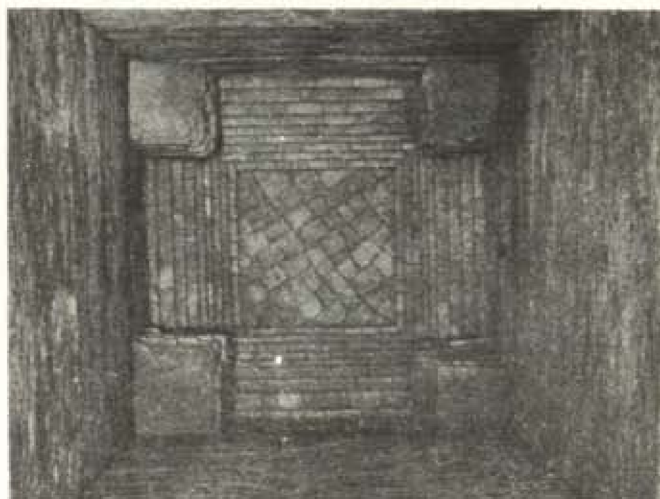
SCALE OF FEET



(a) Main Mound. Section of the Central Chamber.



PLAN

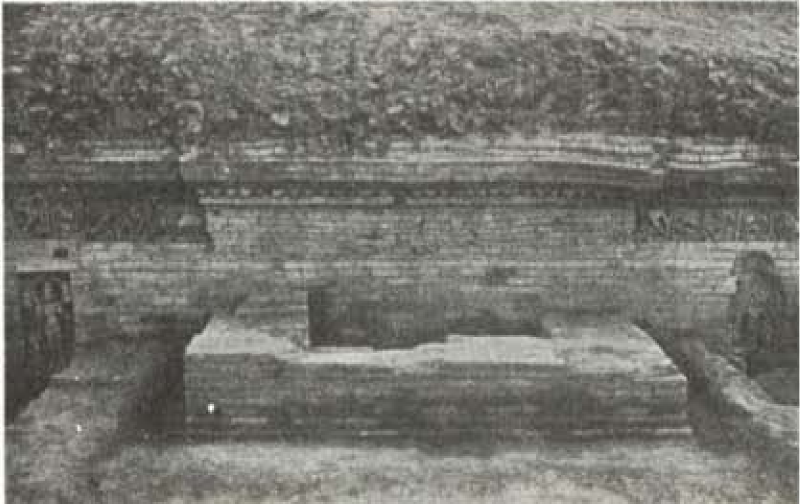


(b) View looking down showing platform off-sets, and paved floor in foundation.

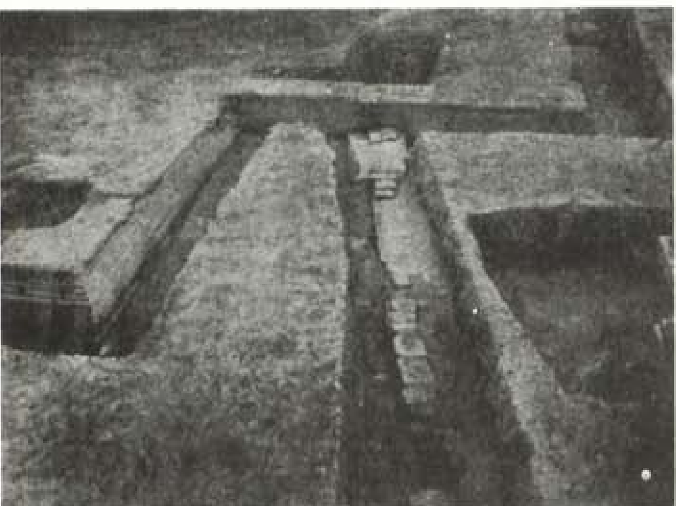
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) Walls and basement of Main Temple showing gargoyle above and masonry drain in floor.



(c) Main Temple. South wall showing reservoir or *kuṇḍa* in front.



(b) Enclosure wall running parallel to Main Temple with drain passing through.



(d) Basement wall of Main Temple showing several off-sets in foundation.

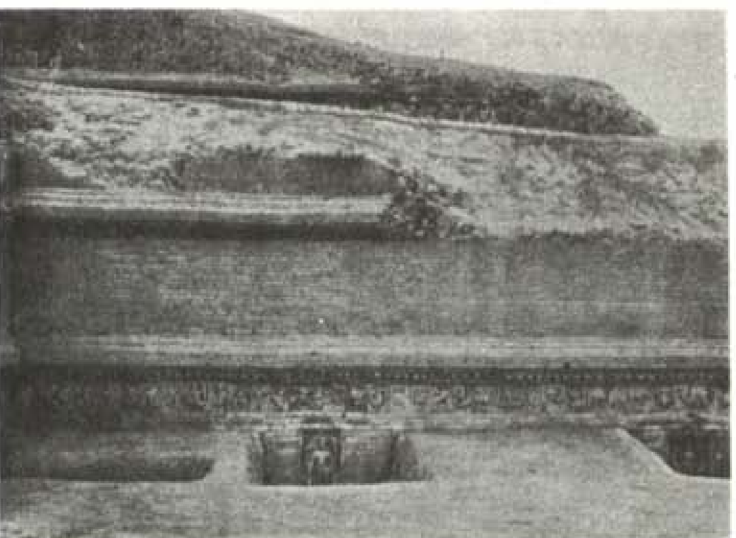
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



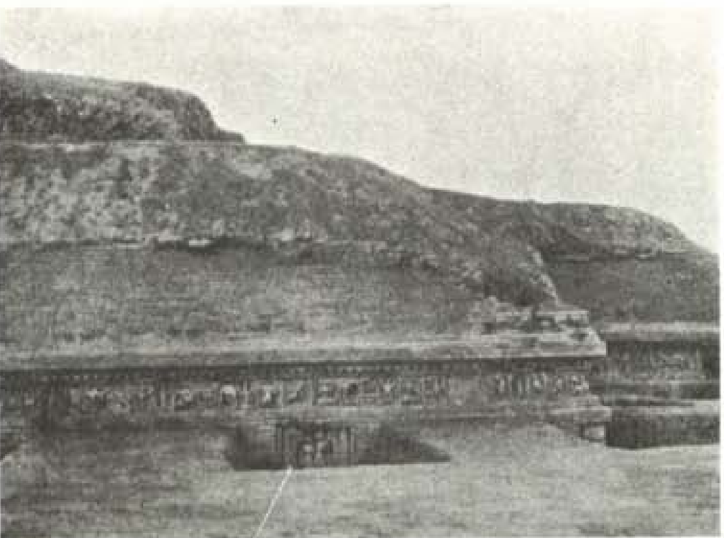
(a) Exterior wall of Monastery from south-west.



(c) Exterior wall of Monastery from north-east.

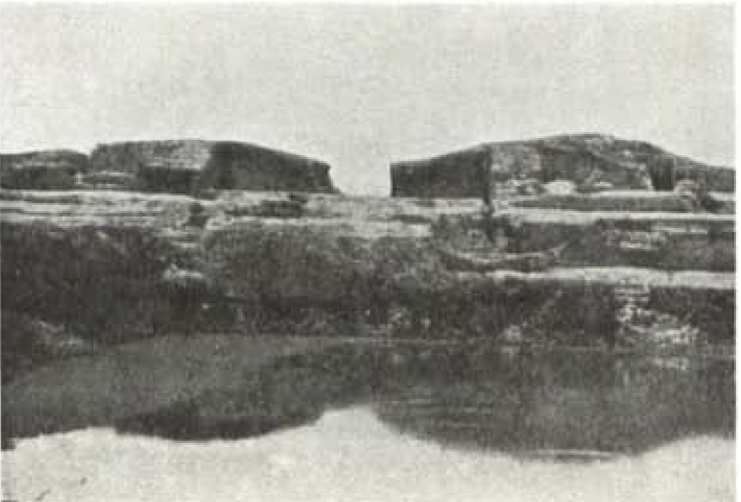


(b) Basement wall of Main Temple from south-east showing terra-cotta plaques and niches.



(d) Basement wall of Main Temple from south-east showing terra-cotta plaques and niches.

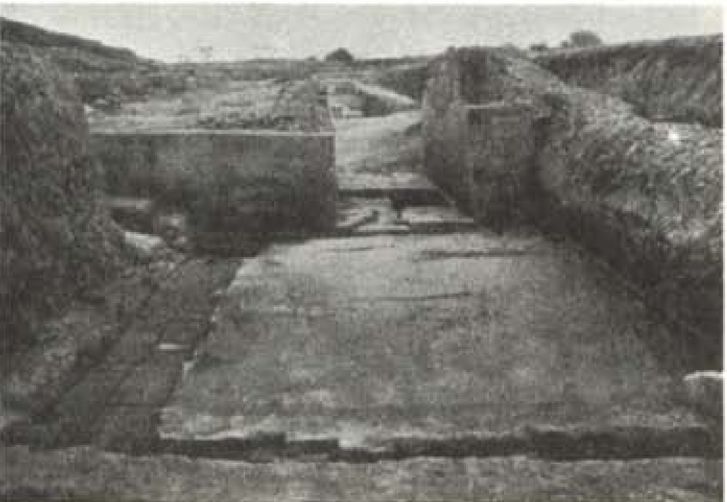
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



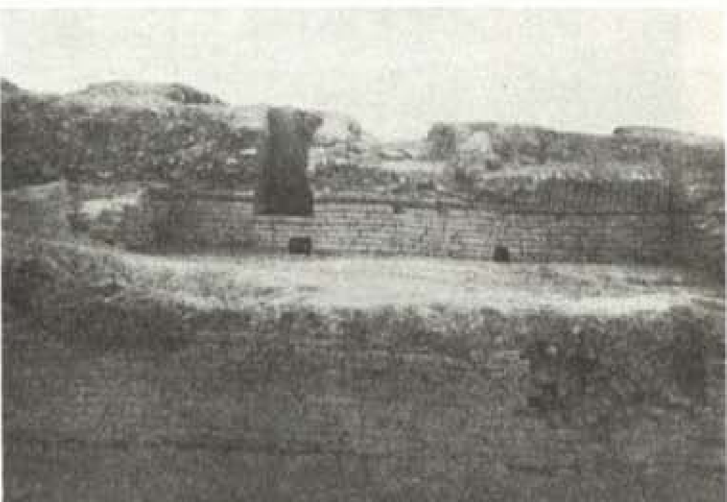
(a) Central block on north side showing Entrance Hall from Courtyard.



(b) Pillared hall on north from outside showing Main Temple in background.



(c) Early drain in Refectory Area with later wall and floor.



(d) View of ante-room of Room 136 showing blocked up passage and springing of vault.

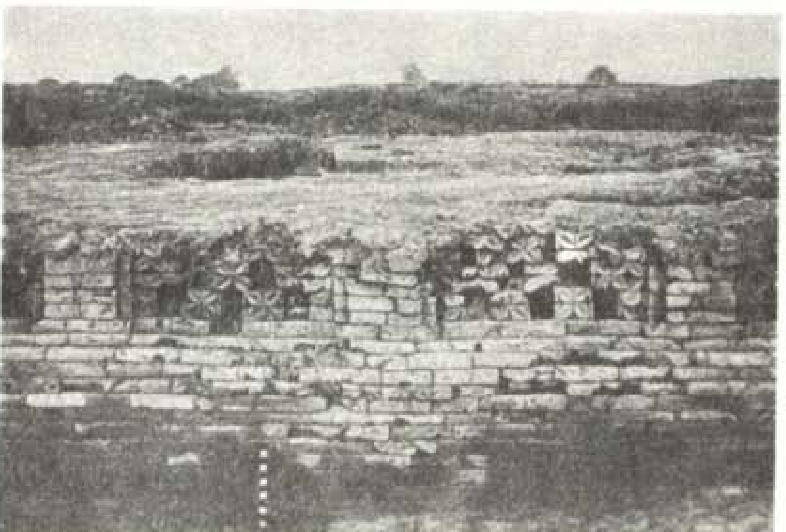
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India



(a) General view of the remains in the centre of North Courtyard.



(c) View of Rooms 1-3 showing three successive floors in North Monastery.



(b) Western enclosure wall of North Courtyard showing pilasters and niches with foliated ornaments.



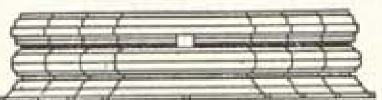
(d) Corbelled passage leading to the Treasury of the Monastery on north side.

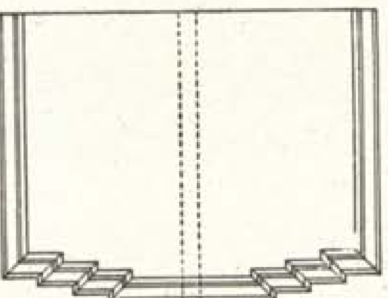
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India

TYPES OF PEDESTALS IN THE MONASTERY

AT PAHARPUR, DIST. RAJSHAHI

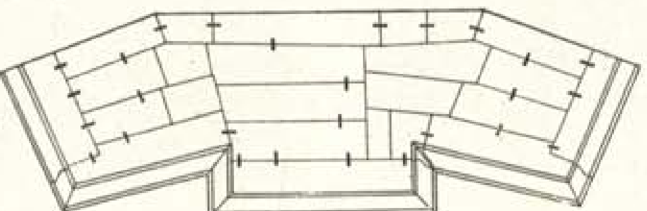




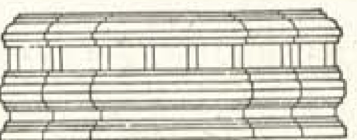


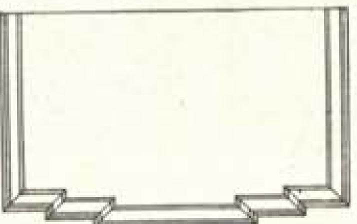
(a) IN ROOM No. 153



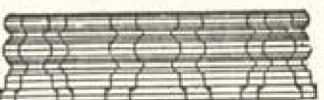


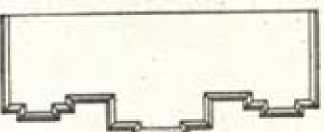
(c) IN ROOM No. 46



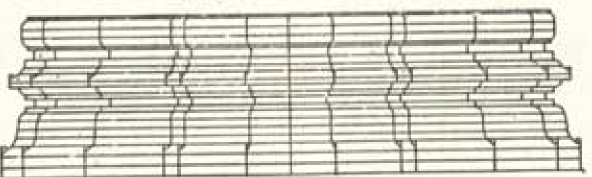


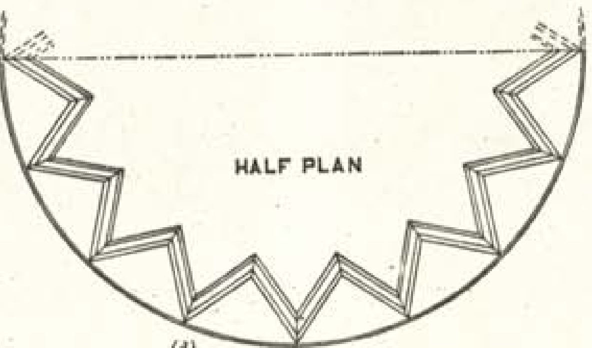
(e) IN ROOM No. 168





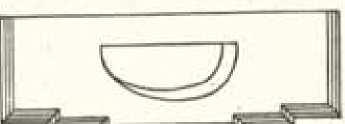
(b) IN ROOM No. 75





(d)



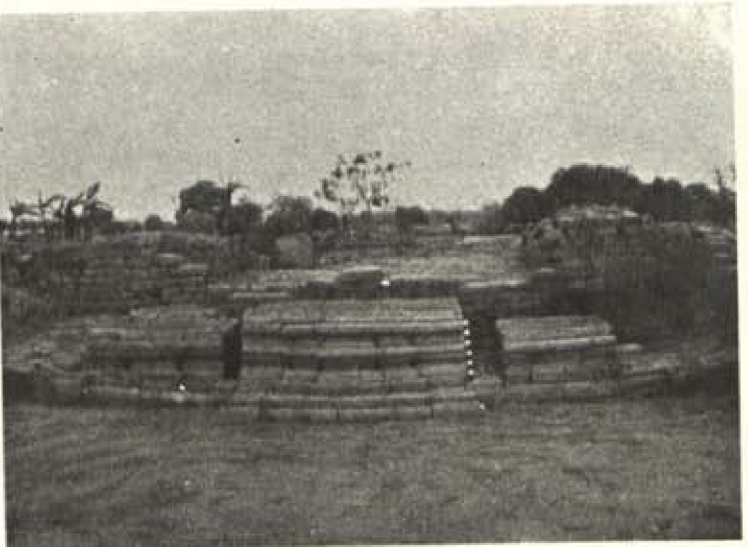


(f) IN ROOM No. 161

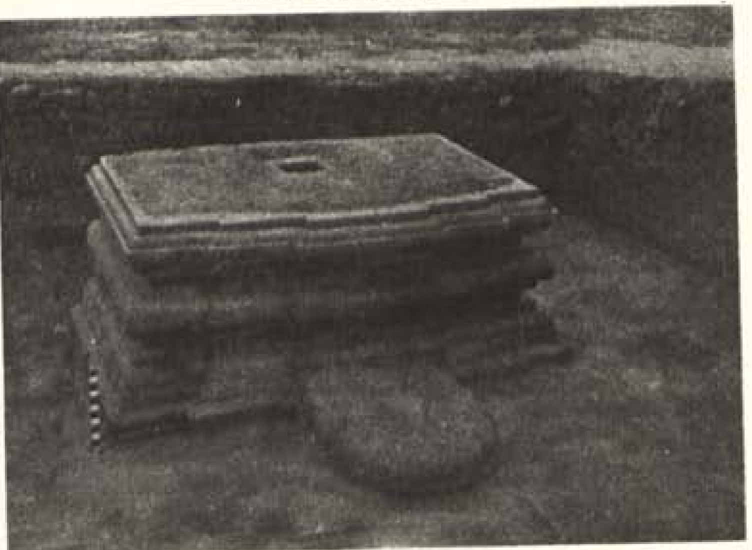
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India



(a) Stone pedestal in Room 145.



(c) Multiple pedestal in Room 37.

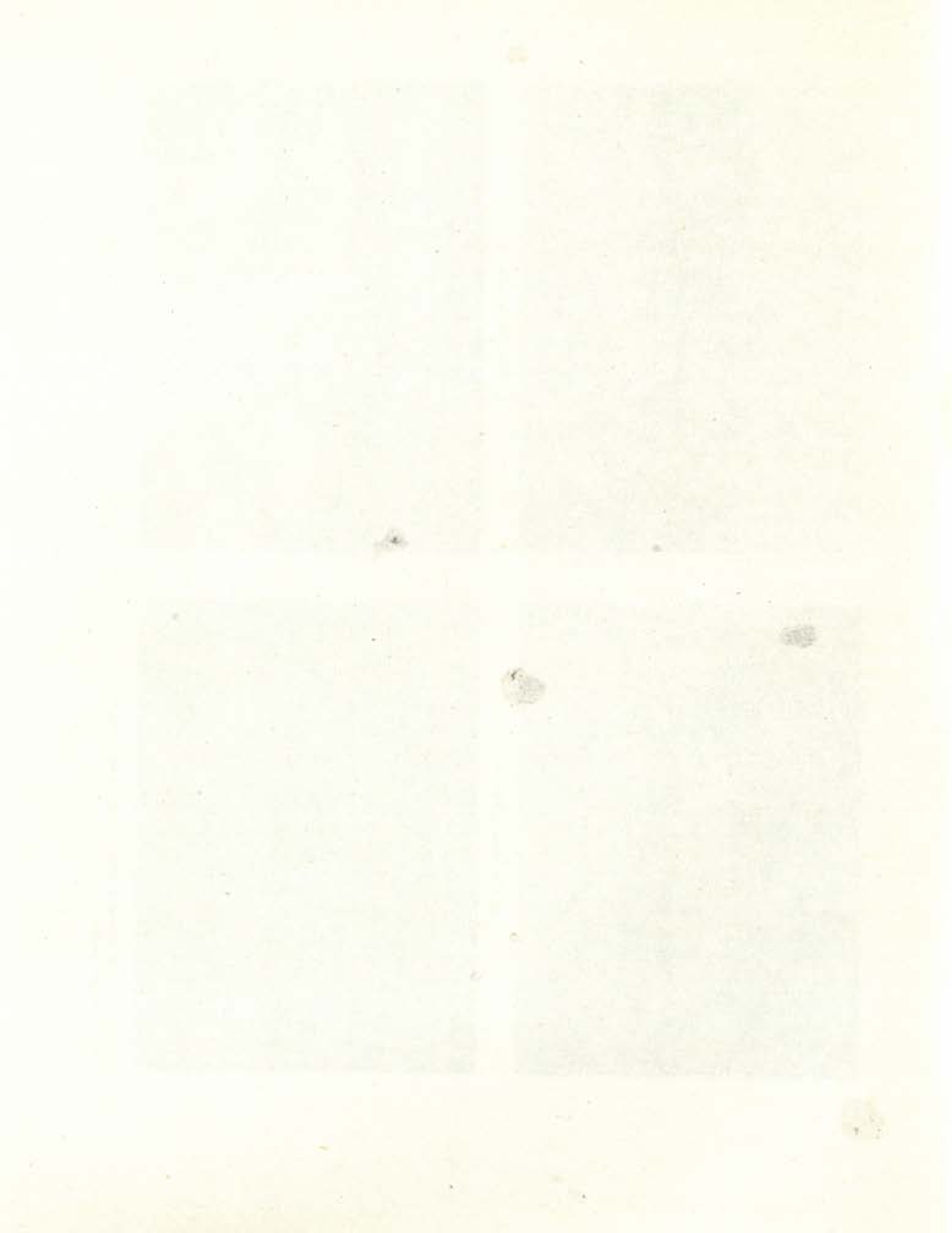


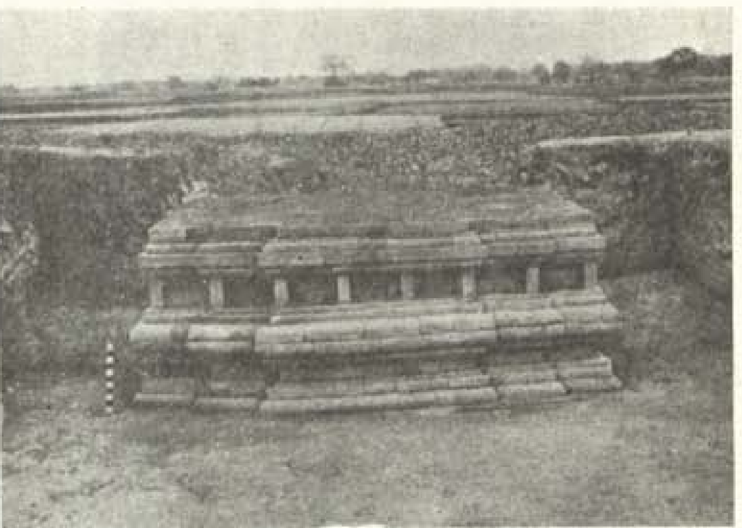
(b) Brick pedestal with mortice hole on top in Room 149.



(d) Stone pedestal in Room 40.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.





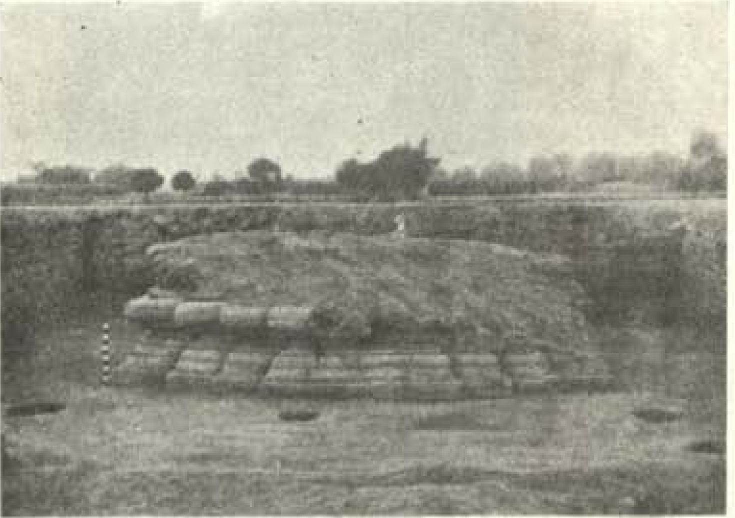
(a) Pedestal in Room 168 showing recesses.



(c) Pedestal in Room 153 showing dentil band.



(b) Pedestal in Room 75.

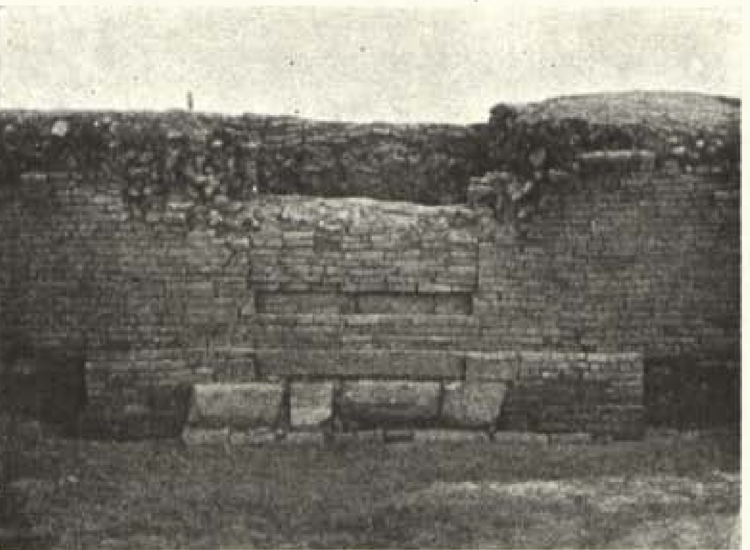


(d) Pedestal in Room 138 with holes in the foreground for canopy.

PLATE XVIII



(a) Passage near Room 15 leading to the Courtyard.



(b) Stone door-sill of passage with blocked entrance between Rooms 15 and 16.

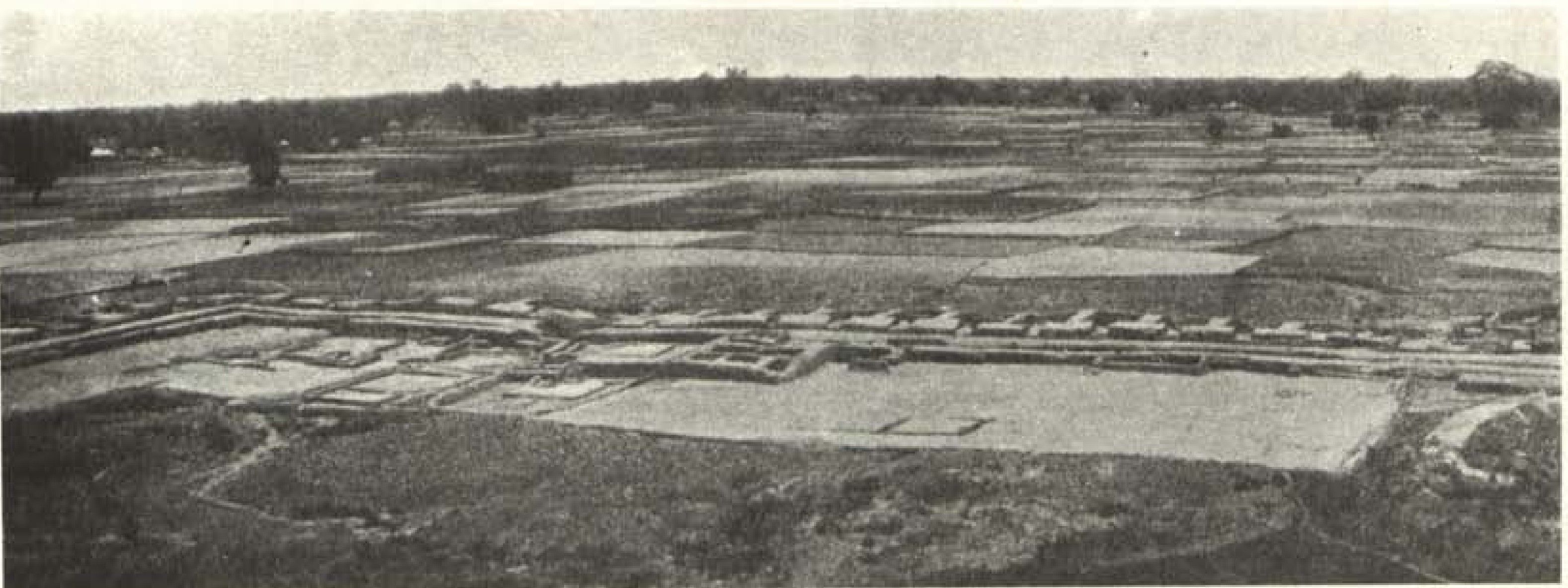


(c) Brick platform outside north-east corner of Monastery.



(d) Flight of steps leading from verandah of Monastery to Courtyard near Room 167

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) Bird's eye view of Monastery and adjoining structures from north-west side.



(b) Bird's eye view of Monastery and adjoining structures from north-east side.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) Bird's eye view of the structures in the south-east side of the Monastery enclosure.



(b) Replica of the Main Temple in foreground with the main mound in the background

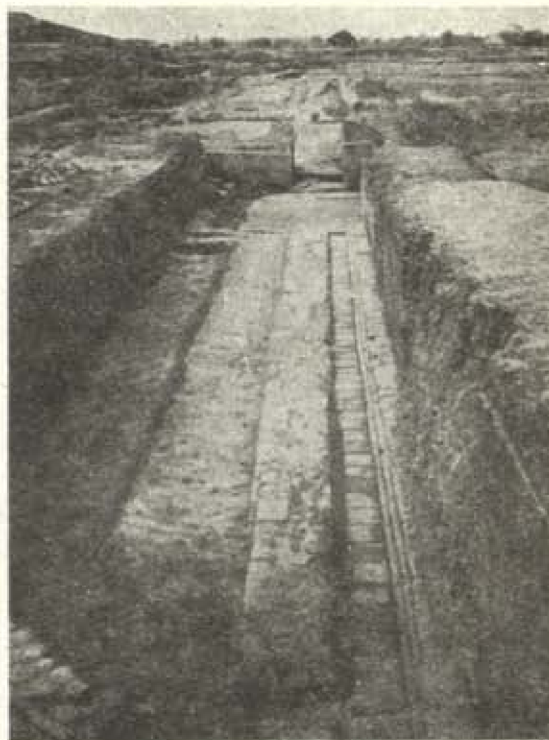


(c) Five stupas in a compound in the South-east Courtyard with Main Temple in the background.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India



(a) Drain near refectory hall in south-east courtyard. View from north.



(b) Drain near refectory hall in south-east courtyard. View from south showing earlier floor and drain below.

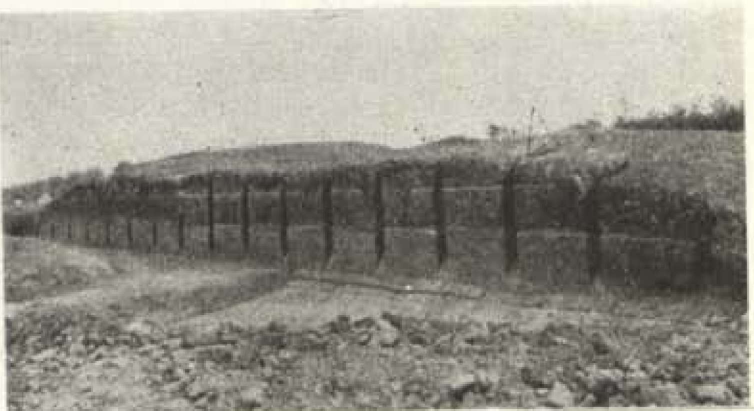


(c) Channel for water in central block on west in western Monastery.

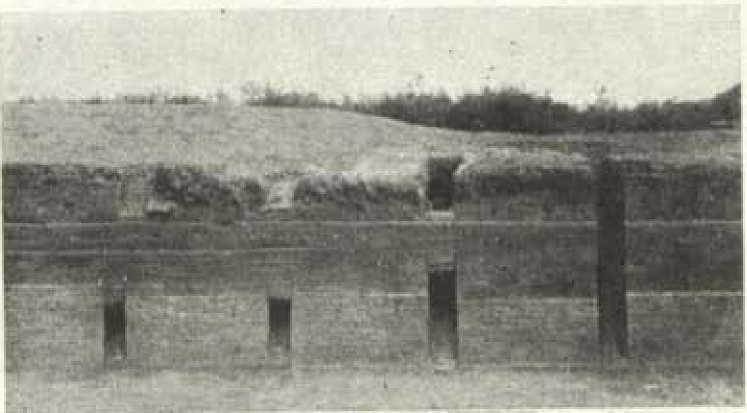


(d) Channel for the passage of water from north ante-chamber to gargoyle.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



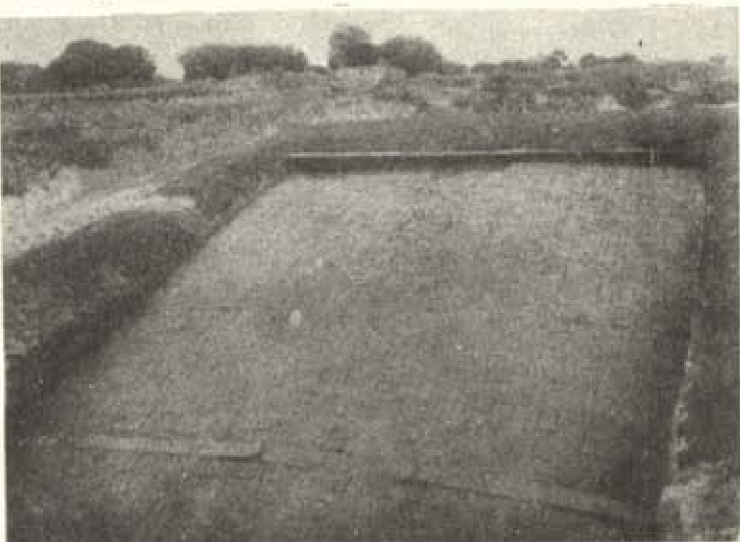
(a) General view of bathing platforms showing drainage channels.



(b) Detailed view of bathing platforms showing channels of two periods.



(c) Temple of Muhammadan period on the south-east of the Main Site.



(d) Masonry *ghat* to the south-east of the Main Site.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) Two doorways of earlier rooms in verandah of rooms 120-122.



(c) Verandah of western Monastery showing stairs leading to courtyard.



(b) Base of walls of central block in western Monastery showing off-sets in foundation.



(d) Southern Monastery showing central block and masonry drain in foreground.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

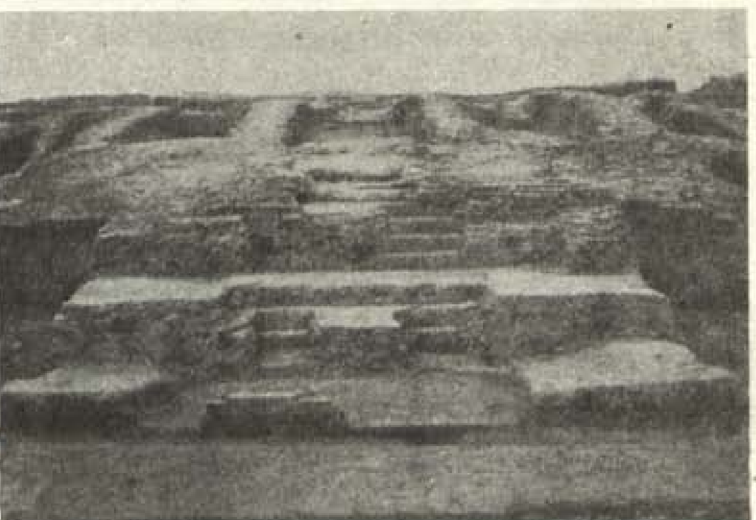
PLATE XXIV



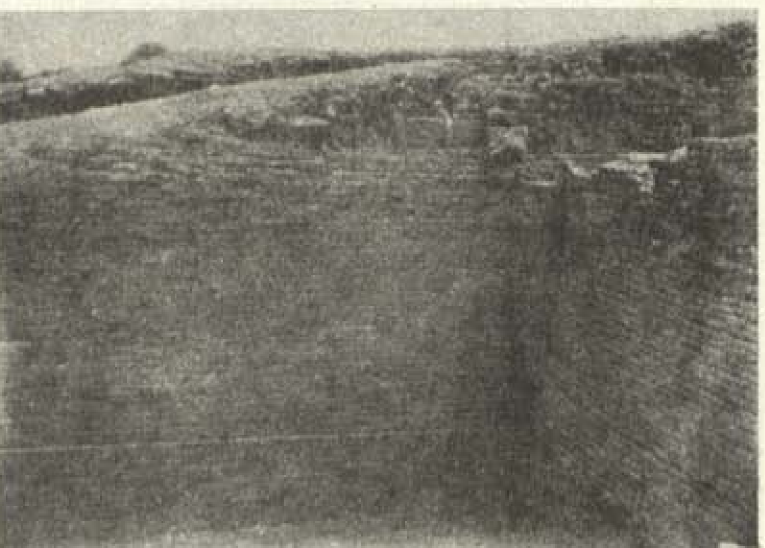
(a) Birds' eye view of middle section of western Monastery.



(c) Flight of stairs in eastern Monastery with stone flags.



(b) Close view of central block on west showing flights of stairs leading to the courtyard.



(d) Inner wall of Monastery showing frieze of plaques and gargoyle in stairway projection on west side.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India



(a) Damp-proof structure and enclosure wall in north-west courtyard.



(b) Enclosure wall around damp-proof structure in north-west courtyard.



(c) Circular structure on square base flanking north gate of Monastery.



(d) North-eastern courtyard showing row of niches with plaques decorating the verandah wall and projections.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE XXVI



(a) Terracotta plaque showing ascetic carrying his bowl on a pole.



(c) Lower part of basement showing the position of sculptures 3 and 4.



(b) Terracotta plaque showing ascetic carrying his bowl on a pole.



(d) Lower part of basement showing the position of sculptures 58 and 59



(e) Lower part of basement showing the position of sculptures 60 and 61

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) No. 23—Yamunā



(b) No. 24—Balarāma.



(c) No. 22—Krishṇa and Rādhā



(d) No. 29—Indra

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) No. 30. Killing of Dhenuka or Keśin—one of the incidents of Krishna's early life.



(b) No. 31. Wrestling with Chāṇūra and Mushṭika.



(c) No. 19. Lifting of Govardhana.



(d) No. 8. Uprooting of the twin Arjuna trees.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) No. 1. Pralambasura incident.



(b) No. 45. Vasudeva carrying infant Krishna.



(c) No. 48. Man seized by two boys.



(d) No. 28. Standing woman.



(e) No. 48. Side view of an old carved stone.



(a) No. 63. Siva holding lotus.



(b) No. 60. Siva with crescent moon on head.



(c) No. 61. Brahma holding rosary and manuscript.



(d) No. 62. Siva as an ascetic.



(a) No. 40. Siva holding *trisula* and a coiled snake.



(c) No. 13. Offering of poison to Siva.



(b) No. 4. Siva with rosary and bull.



(d) No. 37. Siva with rosary and *kamandalu*.



(a) No. 39. Yama holding a noose.



(c) Kubera holding purse.



(b) No. 34. Agni holding *kamandalu*.



(d) No. 17. Seated Ganesa.

PLATE XXXIII



(a) No. 55. Fight of Vali and Sugriva.



(c) No. 54. Abduction of Subhadra.



(b) No. 8. Monkey carrying stones.



(d) Devaki handing over new born Krishna to Vasudeva.



(a) No. 25. Dancing female.



(c) No. 38. Bodhisattva Padmapani.



(b) No. 52. Relief probably showing birth of Buddha.



(d) No. 18. Gandharva holding garland.



(a) No. 6. Standing figure.



(b) No. 9. Watchman resting on his club.



(c) No. 51. Nanda and Garga.



(d) No. 46. Boy holding lump of butter.



(e) No. 7. Two figures.

Plate XXXVI



(a) No. 57. Three-headed demon.



(b) No. 59. Defaced figure of Kubera.



(c) No. 12. The dragging of Kansa by Krishna and Balarama.



(d) No. 35. Figure holding flute.



(e) No. 58. Fighting Asuras.



(a) No. 14. Amorous couple.



(b) No. 11. Amorous couple.



(c) No. 21. Kinnara pair.



(d) No. 2. Brahmā holding rosary and *kamandalu*.

PLATE XXXVIII



(a) Stone head with matted crown.



(b) Seated Kubera.



(c) Hevajra with Sakti.



(d) Stone jamb with haloed figure.



(e) Torso of seated Bodhisattva.



(f) Headless standing female image.



(g) Manasā.

ROWS OF TERRACOTTA PLAQUES



(a)



(d)



(b)



(e)



(c)



(f)

ROWS OF TERRACOTTA PLAQUES



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

ROWS OF TERRACOTTA PLAQUES

ROWS OF TERRACOTTA PLAQUES



(a)



(d)



(b)



(c)



(e)



(f)



(c)



(h)



(g)



(j)



(f)



(b)



(e)



(i)



(a)



(d)

ROWS OF TERRACOTTA PLAQUES

PLATE XLIV



(a) Ten-handed Siva.



(b) Brahma.



(c) Tara.



(d) Standing Ganesa.



(e) Seated Siva.



(f) Manjusri.



(*a*) Padmapāṇi.



(*c*) Jambhala.



(*e*) Seated figure possibly Tārā



(*b*) Buddha in bhūmisparśa-mudrā.



(*d*) Standing Tārā.



(*f*) Bodhisattva seated

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE XLVI



(a) Kīrtimukha.



(c) Peacock fighting with cobra.



(e) Gandharva riding rhinoceros.



(b) Nāga playing cymbals.



(d) Cobra issuing from conical hill.



(f) Nāga worshipping.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) Lion face with crossed legs.



(c) Gandharva couple flying.



(e) Head with pointed ears.



(b) Gandharva with necklace unstrung.



(d) Lion face.



(f) Gandharva holding sword and noose.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE XLVIII



(a) Inscribed deer.



(c) Standing ascetic with bow.



(e) Emaciated ascetic.



(b) A man pulling down hillock, with hand from clouds below.



(d) Human couple.



(f) Ascetic with bow and arrows.

Photo-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE XLIX



(a) A Śabara woman carrying her prey.



(b) Śabara couple



(c) Śabara couple.



(d) An old Śabara archer



(e) Śabara couple.



(f) Śabara woman carrying deer.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE I



(a) Back view of a seated man.



(c) Front view of a head.



(e) A conch head.



(b) Profile of a conch head.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(d) Profile of a woman's head.



(f) Side view of a seated man with his head bent.



(a) Man beating gong.



(c) Man beating time on pitchers.



(e) Man dancing.



(b) Man holding drum.



(d) Man holding lute.



(f) Man playing on Vīṇā.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) Monkey pulling out the wedge.



(c) Elephant and mice (?).



(e) Lion in the talking cave



(b) Elephant and the mice.



(d) Lion looking into a well.



(f) Deer drinking water.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE LIII



(a) Elephant.



(b) Camel.



(c) Monkeys intertwined.



(d) Lizard.



(e) Deer looking up.



(f) Horse.

PLATE LIV



(a) A bird feeding her young one.



(b) Garuda.



(c) Goose.



(d) Peacock.



(e) Goose feeding her young one.



(f) Garuda.



(a) Plantain tree.



(c) Peacock holding snake.



(e) Goose eating lotus.



(b) Palm tree.



(d) A fire altar.



(f) Lotus.


(a) Vase.


(b) Chakra on stand.


(c) Stupa.


(d) Jewelled crown.


(e) Three-headed linga.


(f) Sun and Moon above lotus.



(a) Two warriors fighting from their charriots.



(b) A warrior holding sword and shield.



(c) A warrior holding sword and shield.



(d) A warrior holding sword and shield.



(e) A warrior holding sword and shield.

PLATE LVIII



(a) Image of Hara-Gauri.



(b) Standing Buddha in Abhaya-mudra.



(c) Jaina figure.



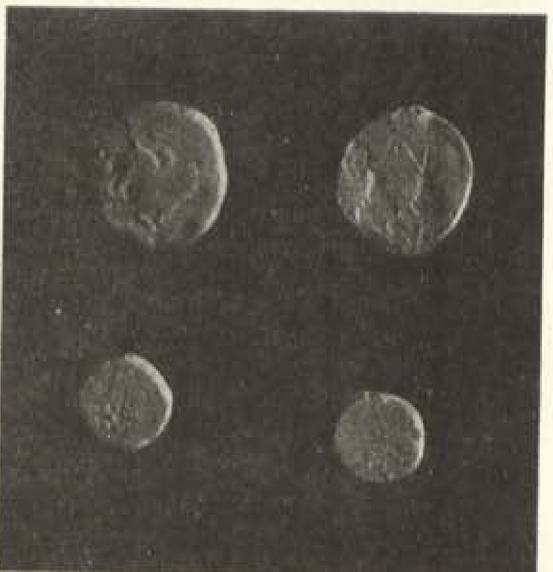
(d) Metal Chaitya found in north ante-chamber.



(e) Kubera.



(f) Ganesa.



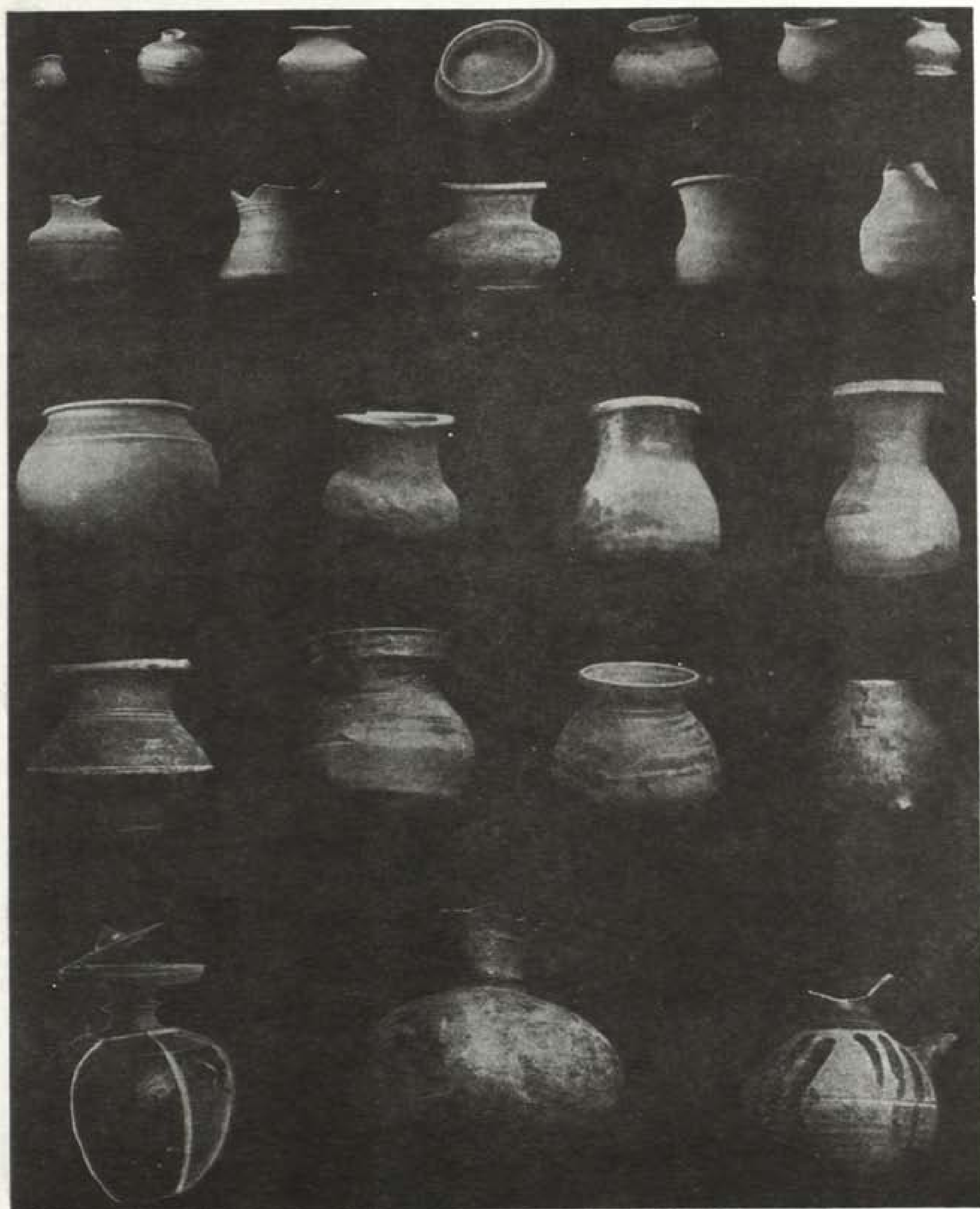
(g) Copper coins of the Pala period.

SEALS AND OTHER INSCRIBED OBJECTS

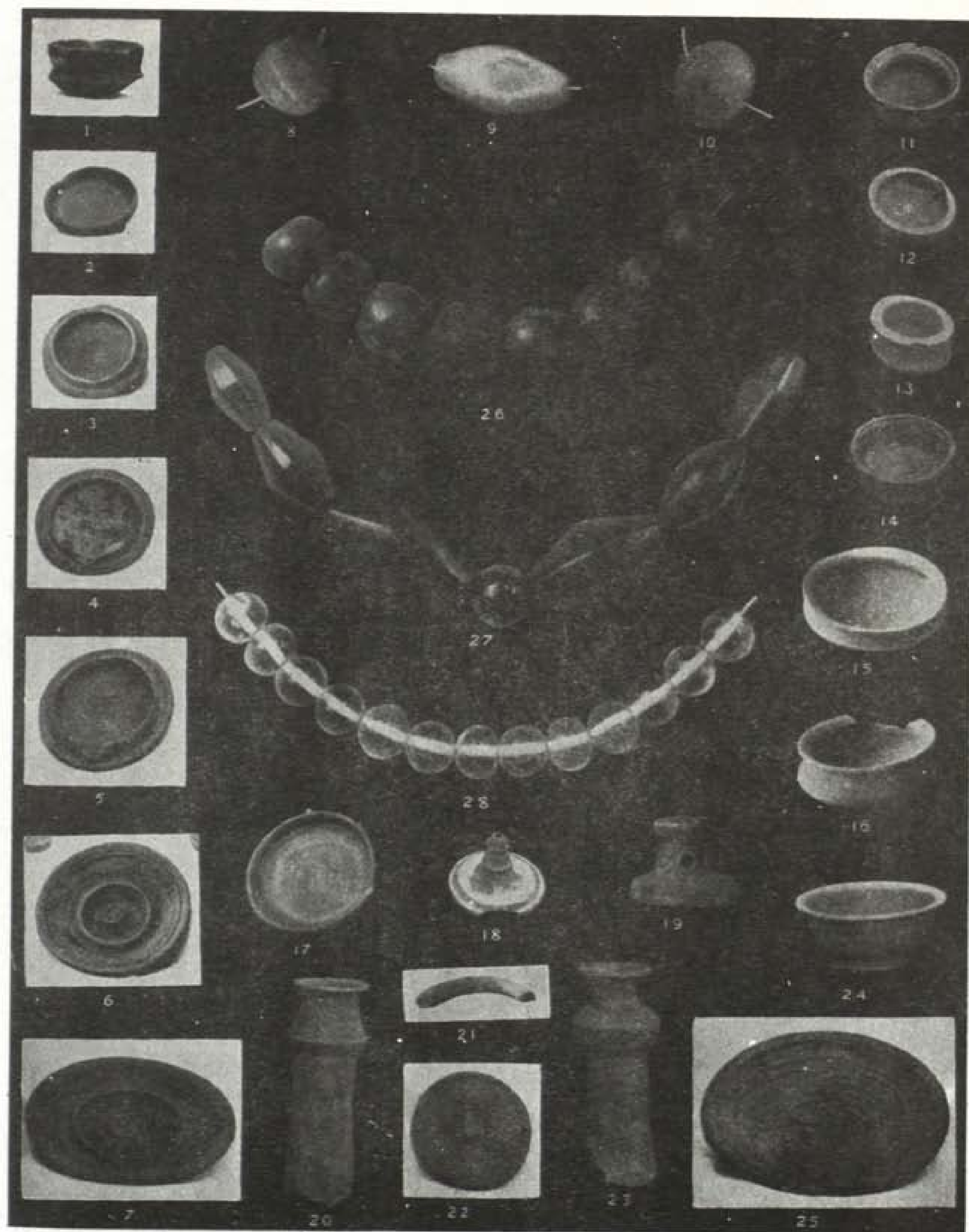


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ORNAMENTAL BRICKS AND STUCCO HEADS







(a) Inscription of Mahendra Pala, year 7.



(b) Late inscription.



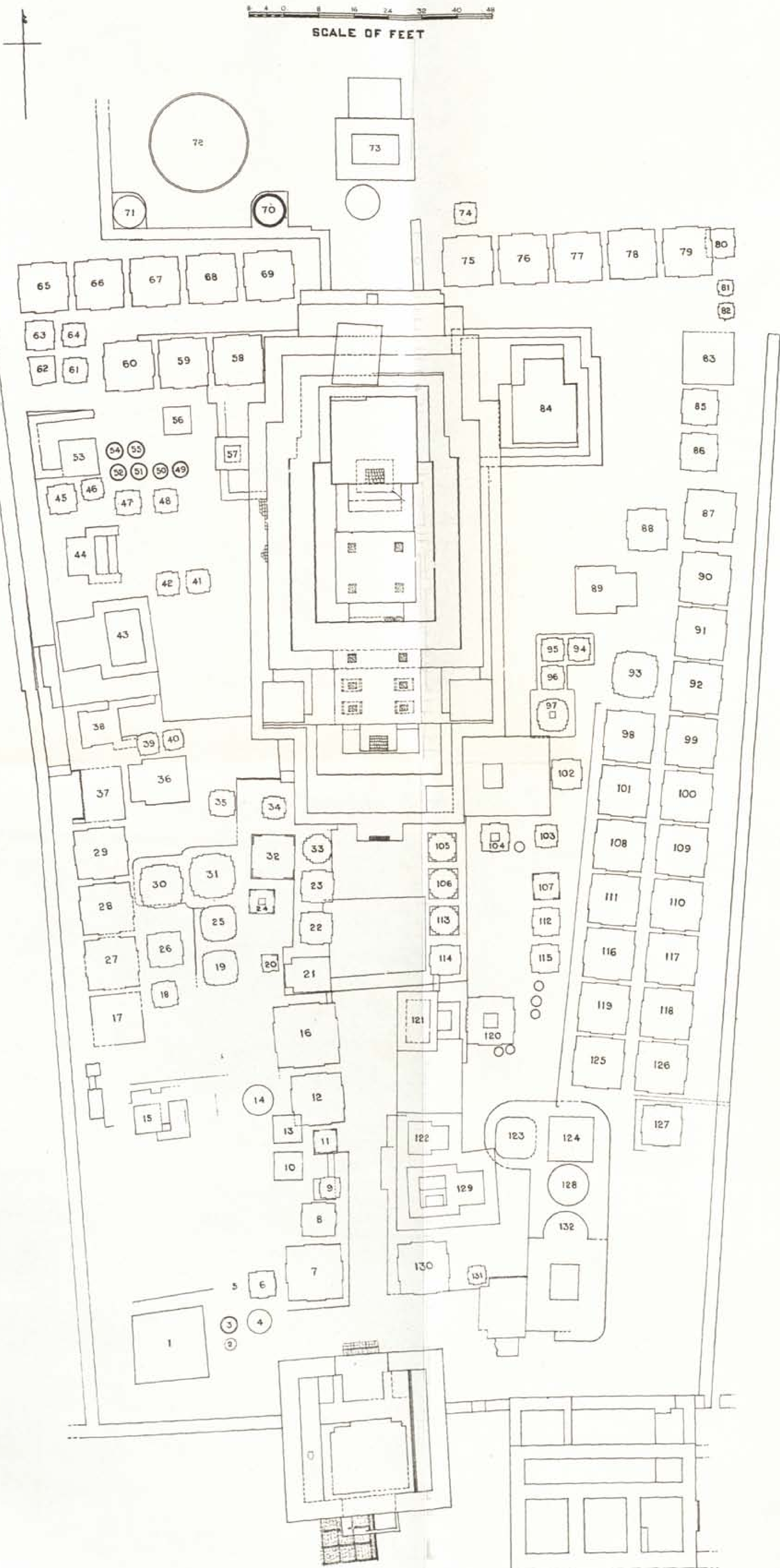
(c) Inscription of Sri Garbha.



(d) Inscription of Dasabala Garbha.

EXCAVATIONS AT SATYAPIR'S BHITA

PAHARPUR, DIST. RAJSHAHI

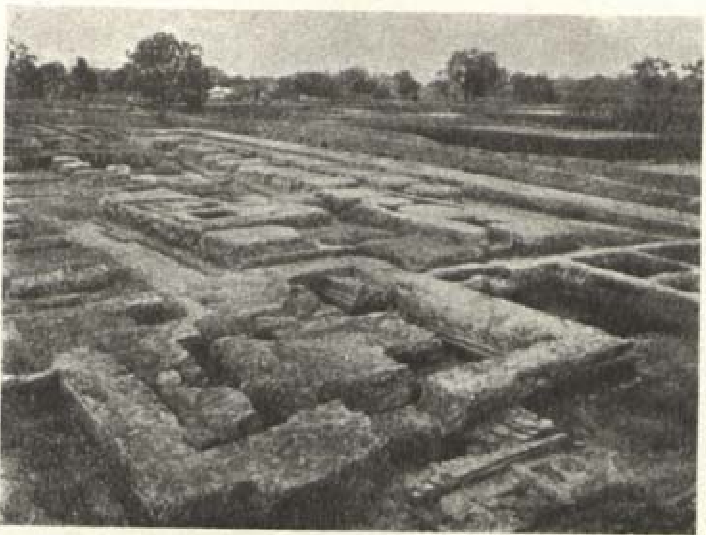




(a) Entrance hall leading to Satyapir Bhita enclosure from south.



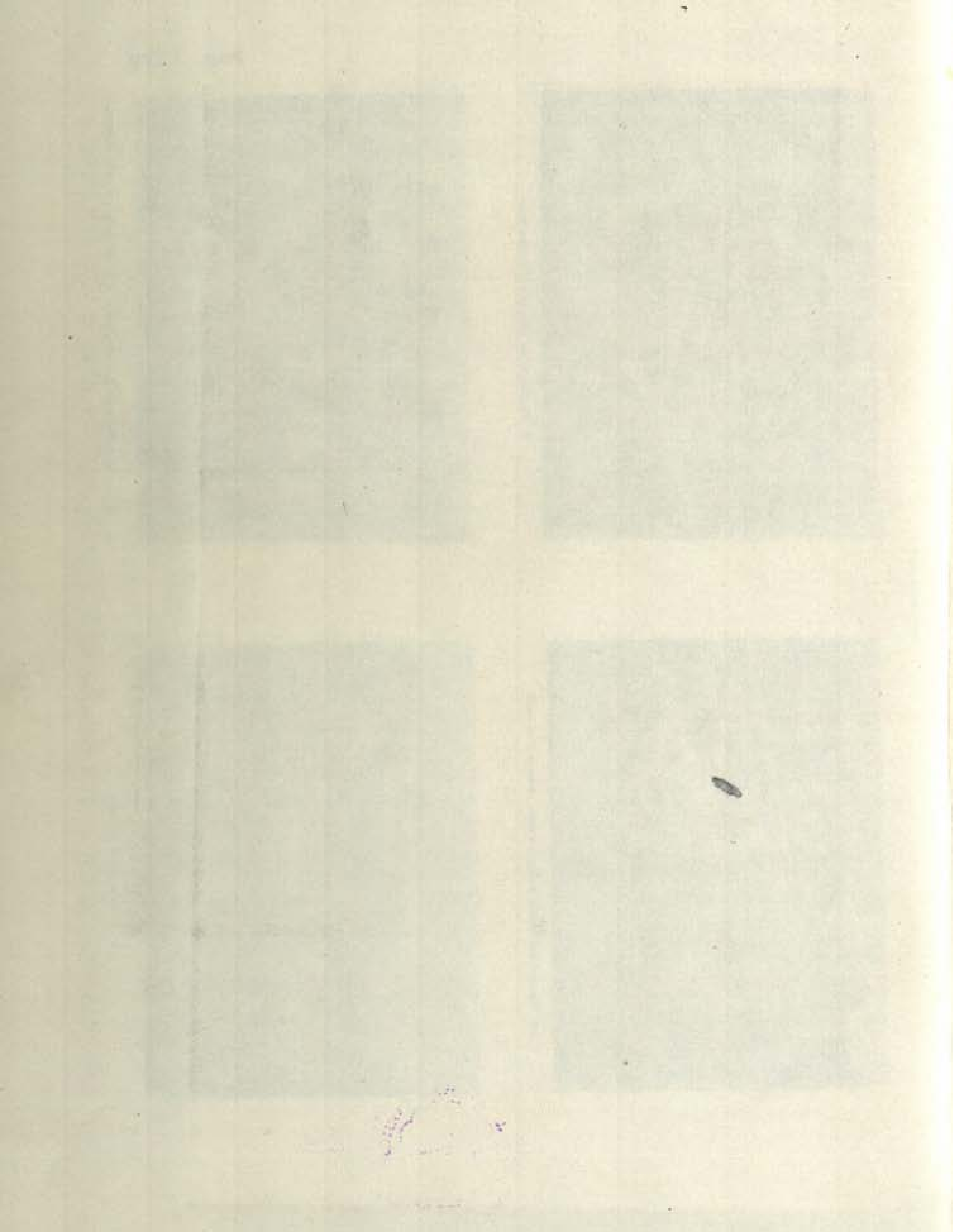
(b) Building to the south-east of the enclosure.



(c) Western half of enclosure.



(d) A group of circular and square votive stupas in the north-west part of the enclosure.





(a) Front view of main shrine.



(b) Votive stupas in the eastern court-yard ; in left fore-ground stupa with large votive deposit.



(c) Rows of votive stupas in north-eastern part of court-yard.



(d) Terracotta casing of votive stupa with inscription of Prasantamati.



(e) Inscription of Prasantamati on edge of terracotta casing of votive stupa.